ReMembering the Story of the Anthropocene Age:

PAPAL BULLS OF DOMINATION, PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND AN ECOTHEOLOGY THAT (RE)MEMBERS TOWARDS CREATING THE BELOVED COMMUNITY

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Foreword

I first wrote this thesis in the Fall of 2016 and submitted revisions in the Spring of 2017 at Union Theological Seminary as part of completing my Master of Divinity. In the midst of my research I started conducting in-person workshops covering this material in different parts of the country, which convinced me of the value of this work. After graduating Seminary, I founded the eco-theology company Sequoia Samanvaya, LLC. My first, and still my core, offering is an online course currently titled, *ReMembering for Life*, based on this material. 95% of my students say the course has been "foundational" in better enabling them to see themselves, their ecosystem, and our world differently.

I had originally intended to withhold publication of the thesis because I was aiming to publish a book with this material. However, almost immediately, my students and colleagues began to use the material in this thesis in their own classes, workshops, articles, presentations, and other forms of public discourse. I knew I needed to publish it prior to writing the book.

Since I first wrote the thesis three years ago, our context and my knowledge base has changed, leading me to wonder how much I should change this thesis. The intellectual and social work around the Doctrine of Discovery and its links to climate change and life for all of us today has significantly increased. Not least is leading indigenous voices such as Mark Charles' recently released book, *Unsettling Truths: The Ongoing, dehumanizing legacy of the Doctrine of Discovery.* Further, teaching this material has, of course, grown it. In addition to my initial course, I've gone deeper into Howard Thurman, the history of sugar, and the creative work of reenchanting. An anticipatory community has formed within the chrysalis that Sequoia Samanvaya offers its participants, and we have been engaging in ongoing "research and development" of cultural innovation with a decolonial flair, including: "ecological family histories"; working differently with inheritance, wealth and legacy; and re-situating time into place via circular temporal technologies. My 1-1 healing practice has also grown during this time. As my amazing clients bring somatic dimensions of dislocation, inherited family traumas, and their own evolving, embodied interpretation of scripture and various spiritual and prayer practice, I have come to understand the somatic dimensions of ReMembering and ReEnchanting more fully. The primary argument here is that the mentalities leading to the physical shifts that led to climate change started with colonization; recently, Koch et al[i] argued that the genocide of Native Americans significantly influenced the global climate and earth system; this argument can not incorporate the physical as well as the intellectually.

Which inevitably leads to the question: how much new material to incorporate into this thesis as I put it up in a public space? How much for the (eventual) book? For too long that question kept me from publishing. Finally, I have leaned towards, "as little as I can while still feeling authentic." Starting a business as an unconventional eco-theologian has been highly conducive to my own learning, but not to writing a book proposal. Every week, someone says, when can I read your thesis? Entire college courses (taught by people other than me) have already been shaped by this thesis just as it is, for all that I would like to now frame it more in terms of regeneration. Hopefully with this publication it can continue to be useful.

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Acknowledgements and Dedications

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I write in honor of and with love for my father, Robert Kent Wolcott, Sept 28, 1943 - Sept 24, 2014, who introduced me to trees, raised me as a Quaker as best as he knew how, and taught me that it was my duty, as the heir of Oliver Wolcott, to care for the ideals of our country's democracy.

I dedicate this work to the past and future generations. In particular, the future descendants of the Wolcott family line; to the descendants of Felix, whose dates of birth and death were not recorded, the first African slave in Connecticut, owned by Henry Wolcott Jr., my great-great-great-grandfather; and for the descendants of the Iroquois/Haudenosaunee peoples, especially the Seneca peoples in northern New York, who spoke words of companionship and mutuality with Oliver Wolcott across a sacred fire in 1776. These descendants include Rick Hill and Rachel Porter, who today teach me improved communication. May our fellowship and common work in honoring the sacred treaties between our peoples flourish. This work is for and perhaps on behalf of my extended family, especially the California Sequoias, who grow tall, even thrive, after being burned. Thank you for teaching me some of the meaning of "*Beloved Community" and "all of my relations."*

Prologue

"Tell us a story about your family," the Fellowship of Reconciliation's (FOR) facilitator of the anti-oppression workshop that I was attending instructed us. I was 25 years old and preparing for my first trip to Kenya to travel and work amongst Quakers. Already active in local, national, and international Quaker circles, I joined the anti-oppression workshop to support my overarching desire to help bring forth the Beloved Community.

I shared the following story: as a 9-year-old child, my family took me on a pilgrimage from our home in California to the heart of our nation's capitol, the United States Capitol rotunda, to view the founding documents of the United States. With great love and pride, my father and I admired the signature of our beloved ancestor, Oliver Wolcott on the Declaration of Independence. I felt deep connection to my father, my ancestors and my nation.

After I told my story, one of the facilitators whom I greatly admired, told me that it was hard for her to hear my story. Her indigenous ancestors had their land, livelihoods, language and life taken away by my ancestors. Her African ancestors has been torn from their fields, forests and families and forced into bonded labor by and for my ancestors. Her grandfather had taught her to distrust, if not hate, my ancestors.

For a moment, after hearing her version of "my" story, I was paralyzed with fear. The horror of the past rippled between us. I asked the question that haunts oppressors the world over: What will you to do to me given what my ancestors did to your ancestors?

She took a deep breath, perhaps summoning an inner courage. Then she reached out her hand and touched mine, and gifted me with a possibility - a hope, a praxis, a dream - that continues to reverberate in my life: The real miracle, she said, is that we are now sitting here. Together. We can form a relationship our ancestors never had. We can heal.

With her touch my breath returned. With breath came heightened, awakened awareness: we were two women, surrounded by friends surrounded by a building surrounded by trees and rivers and oceans and continents and the memories of unspeakable traumas and breathless joys. We were living beings in a living being. The possibility of healing and perhaps even friendship seemed so much more important than upholding the story I had been taught about the greatness of my family and my country.

By telling her truth, she changed mine.

Our relationship, however brief, transformed my relationship with my ancestors and with myself. I was no longer the descendent of a great man. I became the descendent of a very complex set of relationships wherein certain types of "greatness" were deeply intertwined with what Howard Thurman once called "relationships evil in design." And yet something else is possible. In (re)membering her truth (sat *in Sanskrit) in with mine, a force (*graha *in Sanskrit) re-configured me, and possibly her, closer to the Beloved Community. Satyagraha. There is no way to peace; peace is the way.*

Ten years to the month of attending the workshop that prompted this thesis, my research showed me that the founder of FOR coined the term "Beloved Community."

How wondrous is this loving truth-force that emerges between us to (re)member and even re-discover the Beloved Community through reweaving our stories! At the dangerous dawn of the Anthropocene Age, what relationships will shape the story we will tell about where we came from – and how we, as living beings within a living being, relate to one another?

I. Introduction: What relationships will shape the Anthropocene Age?

Our "common home"[ii] is moving into a new geological epoch:[iii] the Anthropocene Age, characterized by the strong extent to which certain anthropocentric behavior has transformed the bio-chemical structure of the bio-sphere that we humans call home.[iv] Will we perpetuate what mystic and activist Howard Thurman once called those "relationships evil in design" that contributed to the Anthropocene Age? Or will we move closer to another set of relationships, one called, variously, the Kingdom of Heaven/Ahimsa/Beloved Community/Regenerative living?

Our ability to form the kind of relationships that we need in the Anthropocene Age stems from how we tell our stories about how we got to where we are. Our stories stem from our relationships. Through listening to my relationships with those who are amongst the first to feel the effects of climate change (namely indigenous peoples and people of color), I here ReMember a different story of the pattern of relationships "evil in design" that has led to the Anthropocene Age than the story I learned when working in sustainable international development. From the story-telling practices of my indigenous and black colleagues, I learned the value, power and truth of weaving the personal into socio-ecological histories. Thus, this story is not someone else's story: it is an intimate story of my religious heritage (the Religious Society of Friends), the Wolcott family, and my own spiritual journey. It is also incomplete. I offer here moments within a larger collective story. Many other voices, songs, genealogies and histories need to be heard. We deeply need one another's stories; to practice weaving them together even as we untangle the inaccurate and false stories, we have been deluding ourselves through repetitive narrative.

In brief, this thesis argues that we need to re-originate where we begin the story of the Anthropocene Age. Instead of originating the story of the Anthropocene Age, especially of

climate change, in the industrial revolution, we need to originate the mindsets and the socio-ecological relationships that significantly led to the physical changes and the technological changes in the fifteenth century. At this time, I highlight three major papal bulls, which I refer to here as the "Domination Bulls," were written in 1452, 1484, and 1493. These formed what I refer to as a "triangle of terror" between the slave trade in Africa, the witch hunts in Europe and the destruction of the indigenous peoples in the Americas, all of which violently severed people and place and created a "new world" of race, natural resources, and desacralization. Two of those bulls (1452 and 1493) subsequently became the foundation of what is known as the Doctrine of Discovery. Thus: we cannot discuss the history of the Anthropocene Age, of climate change, without also discussing the history of race and of gender inequity. The major social justice issues of our times can explain in an interconnected way through this more accurate narrative.

Part II uses the metaphor of the square to explore the impact of private property in shaping relationships "evil in design"; we see how Catholic notions of "discovery" melded with the particular form of private property developed in protestant England. When English and other European colonists in the New World were unwilling to authentically encounter, engage with, and learn from the radically different socio-ecological set of relationships that had been honed by indigenous peoples in "New England," a pattern of socio-ecological domination and alienation between people and their homeland spread across "America." I also show how the formation of Intellectual Property was part of the same pattern of its cosmovision and its subsequent relationships. The final historical moment I consider here is in the mid-nineteenth century, including the solidification and combination of "discovery" and "property" in the 1823 Supreme Court case, *Johnson v M'Intosh* as well as the particular relationships between nearly-sacred land

(what became the national parks) and private property relationships that followed the forced removal of Indigenous peoples from their historical sacred land.

My familial and religious ancestors perpetuated these socio-ecological patterns that broke sacred bonds between people and place and created race. This unsettling history was in no way reflected in the sanguine historical origin stories that I grew up with. Quite possibly my ancestors were, alternatively, convinced they were doing the morally correct thing, blessed by God, powerless to do anything different, and/or were ashamed and uncomfortable with how to face their role in perpetuating the evil that is colonization. It has been important for me to treat them with compassion. However, my experience has not been one of shame. Indeed, I am delighted to share that process of "re-discovering" and (re)membering more accurate histories is, far from being wrought with "white guilt", an amazing process of experiencing greater past and present wholeness. I use the phrase (re)membering/ReMembering, instead of re-telling or re-narrating, because the integration I've experienced in this process has a distinctly physical dimension. The histories discussed here are real places and real people. The physical pain – of dislocation, violence, social shame, disgust, and horror – of these histories is located in the individual as well as the collective social and ecological body. Our individual and collective bodies quite literally *feel* these historical traumas today. This process thus has somatic, emotional, intellectual/mental, social, and spiritual components reflecting the depth of intimacy around which this process of (re)membering is about. The growing numbers of people keenly seeking and partaking in personal and collective processes of (re)membering is a testimony to the aching need to better understand where we come from in a situation where connections have been truncated and dishonesties infuse inherited discourses.

The thesis follows a story-like format: Prelude, Beginnings, Middle, Interlude, Finale and an Epilogue. Sometimes it felt like I was writing acts of an all-too-real drama. I lightly use this framework to help the reader remember that for all that it is real, few human narratives are actually inevitable. Perhaps it did not have to be this way; certainly, we do not have to continue in this direction. The narrative here is roughly chronological. I move quickly through defining terms and setting up the theological anthropology of integral ecology/relationality, from which the rest of the work stems. I do not get into the late nineteenth, twentieth or twenty-first centuries, although Howard Thurman, who, as a descendent of slaves is one of billions impacted by the Doctrine of Discovery, is a helpful companion in teasing out the complexity of our inter-relatedness.

My sources include: original documents (papal bulls, letters, meeting recordings), eco-theologians, ecological historians, historical theologians, legal scholars, private conversations with Indigenous peoples, personal experience, and "Wolcott oral family history" (family stories told to me by my father and grandparents). Following the example of indigenous and black feminist scholars who attest to the critical validity of personal spiritual experiences in research, epistemologies and creating life-supporting relationships,[v] I also refer to, as appropriate, those moments when I was "given" connections and insights through a Source that I do not associate with my mind.

May this work contribute to our ability to live fully as living beings within a great living being even as we move into what may well be the most dangerous moment in human history[vi] under the political authority of one who has no wish for the peace, respect and love of the Beloved Community.

1. Defining Terms

1.1 Native American/Indigenous/Indian and Turtle Islander

Many indigenous peoples in the United States use the term "Indian", to describe themselves.[1] To avoid confusion with Indian people from the country of India, I use the term "indigenous." Law Professor S. James Anaya argues that indigenous peoples, from the Sami in northern Europe to the Maori of Aotearoa (New Zealand) have:

> ancestral roots (that) are embedded in the lands on which they live, or would like to live, much more deeply than the roots of more powerful sectors of society living on the same lands or in close proximity. And they are *peoples* in that they comprise distinct communities with a continuity of existence and identity that links them to the communities, tribes, or nations of their ancestral past.[vii]

Indigenous peoples are immensely diverse. Not all have the same connection to the earth. At risk in this meta-narrative is reducing actual diversity and perpetuating patterns of homogenization.[2]

1.2 Anthropocene Age, Climate Change and socio-ecology

Assumed in the definition of the Anthropocene Age is that human beings have always influenced and shaped nature. However, in the past two hundred years, the burning of fossil fuels has fundamentally impacted atmospheric, oceanic and geological structures. Climate change is a primary but not the sole component of the Anthropocene Age. Whatever humans do at this point moving forward, some degree of bio-physical transformation change has already occurred and is continuing to occur with as yet largely unfelt ramifications. I discuss the "history of the

[1] As used in, Indian Country Today, one of the better online media outlets for U.S. indigenous news and opinions (http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com)

[2] One way to address these particularities would be to focus on one particular place, such as the coal-mining communities of the Appalachian Mountains, in which the history of climate change, colonization and inequalities are clearly combined and easily seen in the bio-culture. I choose to focus on my family story, which has greater flow across different spaces, both because it coincides with major historical events and because it personalizes metanarratives.

Anthropocene Age" instead of the "history of climate change" to remind us that we are entering a new epoch in human history. This is not only about climate change. (Eisenstein?)

What the term "anthropocene" does not commonly convey, and towards which I here nudge it, is a differentiated perspective on "anthropocene." While current discourse[3] on the Anthropocene Age tends to emphasize that the poor will be impacted more than the rich, and that wealthier countries have greater responsibility than do poorer countries, this is rarely described in racial or colonial terms. Settler-colonialists-invaders, (often historically white folk), are the primary people who have contributed to the weave of the human-earth web of "relationships evil in design" that has led to the Anthropocene Age. I am not, here, saying that the Anthropocene Age itself is "evil." I am naming evil those material relationships that lead to the mass extinction of non-human beings, the vile disrespect for human well-being and the forceful removal of humans from their sacred landscapes, and the life-threatening continual use of fossil fuels. All of these dynamics contribute to Climate Change and the Anthropocene Age.

I here use the term "socio-ecology," which stems from the field of sociology and international development, to refer to the social structures that bind society and ecology together (such as laws and economic patterns). I use the closely related term "bio-culture" to refer to the close relationship between culture (language, music, dance, ritual, ceremonies) that bind human and non-human cultures together.[4]

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[3] See for example: http://www.anthropocene.info/

[4] Luisa Maffi defines biocultural diversity as, "the diversity of life in all its manifestations: biological, cultural, and linguistic – which are interrelated (and possibly coevolved) within a complex socio-ecological adaptive system." Luisa Maffi, "Ch. 18: Biocultural Diversity and Sustainability," in *The Sage Handbook of Environment and Society* (Sage Publications, 2007), 269. This perspective helps us see how humans live *in* the bio-system; we are not separate from it and our engagement with it is not necessarily "bad."

2. Webs of life and knots of destruction

Core to theology undergirding this work is what Pope Francis describes as "integral ecology" in his Encyclical, *Laudato Si*:

> We ourselves are dust of the earth (cf. Gen 2:7); our very bodies are made up of her elements, we breathe her air and we receive life and refreshment from her waters….we human beings are united as brothers and sisters on a wonderful pilgrimage, woven together by the love God has for each of his creatures and which also unites us in fond affection with brother sun, sister moon, brother river and mother earth.[viii]

We are one human-Earth family: we are living beings in a living being.

Eco-feminists' theology of relatedness echoes Pope Francis' integral ecology: "relatedness is intrinsic to all living beings… it is a reality that goes beyond consciousness."[ix] Indigenous theologian Andrea Smith reports that the Traditional Elders Circle similarly states "all of creation is connected, we must live in balance with each other and with the earth to ensure our collective survival; abuse, repression and exploitation of the earth's resources are not part of this "natural law."[5] Similar sentiments can be found in gay and queer theology[x] and in African women's "inter-relational" theology that celebrates the communal and the "dignity in human beings and the sacredness…. in all of life."[xi] Science, diverse spiritual traditions, and societal change makers alike converge in witnessing to the truth that, to paraphrase Martin Luther King Jr.: all beings are related to one another in an interconnected web of mutuality.[6]

[5] Andrea Smith, "Walking in Balance: The Spirituality-Liberation Praxis of Native Women," in *Native American Religious Identity: Unforgotten Gods* (NY: Maryknoll, 1998).

[6] Different terminology from social sciences to express these connections include: socio-cultural biodynamics, socio-ecological systems (SES), socio-techno-ecological systems (STES), bio-cultural diversity amongst others.

From this arises the possibility of the Beloved Community:[7] a time of reconciliation, redemption, and a "new relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor." Infused in the Beloved Community is a "spirit of love," an "understanding and goodwill" that will transform "the deep gloom of the old age will transform into the exuberant gladness of the new age."[xii]

While King himself rarely connected the human and ecological world in his articulation of the Beloved Community, Howard Thurman, one of King's great influences,[xiii] did: "there is a unity of life across kingdoms[8] or species;" seeking the Community is the natural, "logical expression" of all (human and non-human efforts) that "has gone into his (or her) own creation." For Thurman, to be human is to "belong to life and the whole kingdom of life … to see (oneself) as a part of a continuing, breathing, living existence."[xiv] This includes our minds, as well as our bodies; the knowledge we gain and share from and with non-human beings critically shapes our capacity for bio-cultural survival, relatedness and reproduction.

But our interconnectedness can also, as Thurman knew well, lead to what he beautifully referred to as "relationships evil in design." Because of the white master's intimate *relationship* to the black male slave – his owner, boss, rapist, and the father of the slave's wife's children - the slave's own life was stripped of the respect any grown man deserves. This, of course, also harms the white slave owner; James Baldwin writes that the "danger" a black man lives with is "nothing

[7] The term "Beloved Community," was coined by the founder of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Josiah Royce, as the "principle of all principles." This *telos* pervaded the black intelligentsia of the early 20th century, including Thurman, for whom the term meant integration, mutuality and harmony and Benjamin Mays, who preached on the Kingdom of God in language that was essentially beloved community language of freedom, justice, and love. It was strongly influenced by Gandhi who was in turn influenced by Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of Heaven is Within You.* Gandhi himself said, "The Kingdom of Heaven is Ahimsa." See: Kipton Jensen, "The Growing Edges of Beloved Community: From Royce to Thurman and King," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 52, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 239–58.

[8] This is part of why Akeel Bilgrami (2012), following Gandhi, is concerned with the transition from "knowledge to live by to expertise to rule by" that is part of the larger process of desacralizing nature.

compared to the spiritual horror which drove those who were trying to destroy him. They endangered him, but they doomed themselves."[xv]

In his work for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other organizations, Howard Thurman thought "long and hard about evil."[xvi] He argued that when people find themselves "caught in a framework of relationships evil in design…good deeds themselves develop into instrumentalities for evil."[xvii] His focus is on *design.* Human and earth-harming relationships are not accidental. There is a genealogy of their production and reproduction.[9] The task of us people of faith is to transform the "skein of enmeshed obligations and debts that tie individuals to one another."[xviii] This has socio-ecological dimensions.[10] For Thurman, the socio-ecological relations that construe property, especially private property, was particularly dangerous, reflecting a self-aggrandizement that was "inconceivable for a truly Christian life." He saw at the heart of all possessions a self-love that sought only to perpetuate itself: it was the force behind "all imperialism, (the) back of all exploitation."

The discussion below delves into the dynamics of our relationship to one other, including the land. What do we do when we "discover" another being? Can we own the other (human or non-human or land)? Can the other ever become our property? When does the "other" matter – and in what way? "Discovery" and "property" are key dynamics in the pattern I trace of relating to the "other" through domination. Indigenous scholar Steven Newcomb, one of the experts on the Doctrine of Discovery, brings our attention to the prefix "*dom*", meaning to rule over, that is

[9] A much longer version of this thesis could resemble a proper genealogy of discovery, property and self-aggrandizement as it relates to the Athropocene Age.

[10] As expressed by Pope Francis: "we cannot adequately combat environmental degradation unless we attend to the causes of human and social (…and cultural…) degradation."

in “domination,” “dominion” and “domain.” Using cognitive linguistic theory, he suggests that “dom” is as much a metaphor – a construct of thought stemming from our embodied experience in the world – as it is a prefix. One of the reasons it is so difficult to oust these deep socio-ecological patterns is that they become embedded not only in our institutions and our landscapes, but in the sub-conscious patterns of our thoughts, becoming schemas through which we interpret the world.[xix] In our current schema, dominion over land, in particular, is so embedded into our language, legal structure and the practicality of being a mature, functioning adult in society that it is immensely difficult to question private ownership of land or any other form of property without eliciting fear, insecurity, and being told one is being “unrealistic” and “that is just not how the world works.”

Our discussion of “discovery” and “property” thus raises core eco-theological and socio-ecological questions about relationality and the nature of reality. Inquiring into relationships of “domination” and mutuality is part of an overarching process of asking not *if* we are related to one another, but *how,* and in what ways, and to what ends we explore and experience the ties that structure our lives; ties of care, hatred, familial duty, pain, music, art, ritual, reciprocity, responsibility to water and trees and non-human beings, and, not least, ties of that miraculous “love force” that compels us towards the force of the truth in our relationships. There is a life-giving connectivity between all beings that we can lean into; it is found when we are truthful with ourselves; when we let ourselves be changed. I here make a poetic gesture towards Mahatma Gandhi’s concept of *satyagraha*: the force of Truth/Soul. Within the web of relationships that bind us together there seems to be a pulsing force that strengthens and upholds the Truth of dignity and the symbiosis of all beings.

As I write this in the Fall of 2016, I sense strong resonance with the prayer camps at Standing Rock, and, closer to where I write in New York City, the Sweetwater Prayer Camps in Lenape land in New Jersey. They are shifting the international conversation about the relationship between indigenous peoples, land/water exploitation and climate change. These are living examples of a spiritually and practically different relationship with land: one of dignity, respect, and a way of living that does not entail private property. Not only is their witness valuable for its' own sake, but it reminds the rest of us that the current way of relating to land, inheritance, wealth and societal concepts of the "good" and of "development" is not the only one possible. Let us not be trapped by the dearth of our own imagination.

3. ReMembering and ReEnchanting

The work of healing from the past and creating relationships that can become the core dynamics of the Beloved Community is a collective process. This work is part of what I often feel is a larger movement of people, especially women, engaging in what I refer to as re-membering from many traditions and cultures. I am poetically inspired by African feminist Cynthia Dillard, who reminds us that (re)membering is a process of both re-calling what has been forgotten and putting something once fragmented back together again.[xx] This notion, that we need to take the fragments of ourselves and piece them together again, can be found in psychology, feminist movements across cultures, theology, somatic and artistic therapies approaching trauma healing and multiple poets and artists. Its growing use across multiple spaces is an attribute to its symbolic and linguistic potency – and perhaps to the larger cultural zeitgeist which is seeking to re-collect that which has been scattered.

I find that there are at least two dimensions to ReMembering. One is what I think of as the ultimate reMembering: reMembering our relationship to all beings. Whether your theology

conceptualizes a single unified field within which the Divine flows or whether God transcends a unified reality, reMembering your relationship to all beings; to ReMember the connective tissue at the heart of our beings is an incredible spiritual process. Most if not all religious traditions have some kind of practice of remembrance. Jesus says "eat, this is my body; drink, this is my blood; do this in remembrance of me," he is inviting a multi-sensory remembrance between his body and the body of the earth (via the bread) and the body of the people. We could even conceptualize communion as a form of remembrance. When Allah tells Mohammed that his followers are to pray five times a day, it is because Allah recognizes the human tendency towards forgetfulness. The Islamic prayer practice can be seen, thus, as a somatic, in-time form of remembrance. Various practices of remembering our connection to the Divine, and that we are held in love amidst a world abounding with real and imagined fears, is one of the most important services of religious and spiritual communities. Within each person is what my Quaker ancestors referred to as a Seed of Truth; whether that be understood as yoga (unity), freedom, or other words for self-realization and self-lessness, we can help strengthen it. It is common, especially in eco-spiritual and eco-theological literature, that much attention is given to this form of remembering, especially as it relates to the re-Membering of the human-earth family. It is to recover animacy as in our capacity to hear, learn from, honor, cherish and protect all Earthly creations.

The second dimension of ReMembering arises out of the first. It is to bring back together that which has been torn asunder from those times when humans forget that all of us are held in love and all of us carry aspects of the divine and we can, thus, engage with our differences without resulting to the othering that pre-empts multiple forms of violence. It is this second dimension,

which grapples directly with questions of theodicy, or the nature and origin of evil in the world, which is too often missing in "the new story" narrative. We cannot only look at the goodness of our interconnection. We must also consider and actively seek to repair the damage done by our forgetfulness, a malaise that manifests in delusion. It is to confront and enter into the historical wounds of disorientation, disease, dismemberment, displacement, distortion, dislocation and dissociation which have created and which continue to create the Anthropocene. It is to engage with the living histories of Eurocentric colonialism and the living resistance of anti-colonial movements. This is the work of decolonizing our historical consciousness. It is to interrogate who gets to define, and who defiles, the sacredness of place/land; how do well-meaning people of privilege pollute their ecological sensibilities with over-concern on property values? We here interrogate the "sacred" language of private property, which upholds eminent domain as icons to be honored and obeyed beyond all else.[11]

I consider both aspects key to what Thomas Berry refers to as the "Great Work": the work of everyone living today is tasked with doing because it is necessary to the survival of our species. When these two dynamics of reMembering intertwine, we have a chance of imagining and participating in rhythms of being more symbiotically connected to the health of our human-earth family. It is to recover verb-based regenerative languages of theological creativity and aesthetics and to re-embrace the sheer messiness that needs to be inherent in any authentic eco-theology. This thesis primarily focuses on the second dimension. However, in my teaching, I find that most

[11] Particular appreciation for Christopher Fici's deep engagement with this work via Sequoia Samanvaya and in his own writing. Some of this language derives from his unpublished piece, *The Anticipator as One Who Remembers.*

of my students, including religious leaders, are in need of strengthening both aspects of reMembering.

Integral to ReMembering is ReEnchanting. While I do not focus on re-enchanting per se in this thesis, it is worth mentioning. I use the term re-enchanting akin to but slightly distinct to how sociologist Max Weber used the term "disenchantment" and "reenchantment" in his seminal 1971 text, *The Sociology of Religion*. Weber's argument is more complex than space here permits; a simple version is that Weber notes two stages of disenchantment. In traditional society, Weber argues that the world is a "great enchanted garden." parallel to how Max Weber uses the word "disenchanting." Monotheistic religions led to the initial process of disenchantment in which local systems of life-conduct were gradually displaced by a unified total system of meaning and value. In the second phase, disenchantment delegitimated monotheistic religion as a valid unifying world view, favoring instead modern science. Those who ushered in modern science, such as Bacon and Descartes, welcomed it as the pathway to truth. However, writing several centuries later, Weber finds modern science deeply nihilistic and poses the "problem of the meaning of science." He writes of disenchantment: "The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the disenchantment of the world. Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal relations." Nearly disappeared is the capacity (even the seeking) for the collective purpose; the art of the building of the collective monument. The disenchanted world is no longer animate, alive, or drenched in meaning; it is characterized by bureaucracy and rationality.

I suggest the process of disenchantment happened earlier than the industrial revolution. It happened first in the colonies, in which white men acted as if the world (people, trees, fish, mountains) around them was disenchanted. Through an early version of disenchanting those around them, they were able to turn them into commodities for a global market: they would eventually provide the labor, capital and foodstuff (especially sugar but also tea and coffee) that would literally and symbolically fuel Britain's industrial revolution. Not only was the animating life spirit of all beings discounted (or seen as overtly evil) in the minds of the colonizer but so was the actual 'enchanting" (as in, to chant or sing over something) rituals and life habits, also known as local traditions and traditional knowledge and practices, dismissed and in many cases (especially in the Americas), ridiculed, discounted and even outlawed. If disenchantment was core to how the human-earth relationship evolved into one where the potential survival of humanity is precarious, then might re-enchantment be necessary for us to thrive?

In integrating my own Wolcott family history, I engage in both ReMembering and ReEnchanting. I look at what we dismembered from our own stories: especially our relationship to indigenous people and to African slaves. And throughout this journey, I have learned to re-enchant their story and thus my own: to build new relationships and better stories. To dance with the people my ancestors tried to exterminate. To engage in various forms of co-conspiracy with them. To talk to my ancestors. To ask questions that my parents and grandparents did not know they even could ask.

We are a privileged and proud, occasionally self-obsessed family and as such our history is remarkably easy to trace. Many people's family histories are not so well documented. As I work with people on engaging more deeply with what we are now calling ecological family histories

and in retracing and re-engaging with their Origin Stories, I rely upon creative processes, from dreamscapes to rituals to art as well as concrete historical research. I hope that what is here can be helpful for others – and that others can engage in their own process of re-telling, re-weaving and re-membering that we may not re-create the same problematic relationships we have in the past.

4. A story about climate change - and ourselves - that we need to retell

I learned about climate change from a remarkable and influential contemporary network of primarily white, U.S. and European-based intellectuals. This network includes luminaries such as Fritjof Kapra, Donnella Meadows, Elisabet Sahtouris, Gus Speth, David Korten, and Thomas Berry. They have influenced and to an extent are in active conversation with eco-theologians such as John Cobb, Sallie McFague, and Larry Rasmussen and faith networks such as the World Council of Churches, who have forged pathways in integrating social justice and ecological concerns and who have substantially engaged with international climate negotiations.[xxi]

These intellectuals[12] look beneath the biochemical and technological causes of climate change to the mental frameworks, values and cosmologies that led humans to create and perpetuate the industrial revolution even as the detrimental impact on human ecological well-being became evident. Many theologians follow Lynn White Jr.'s 1972 famous article, "The Historical Roots of the Ecological Crisis," and attribute blame to certain biblical interpretations of God's commandment to the humans in Genesis 1 to "have dominion over" Earth.[13] Less well

[12] Pp14-17 draw largely from my 2016 paper for Professor Dr. Azaransky's class: Sara J. Wolcott, "Inheritance, Howard Thurman and the Doctrine of Discovery: Retelling the Origin Story of Climate Change" (unpublished manuscript, 2016).

[13] White himself is clear that the "roots" can be found in the late middle ages, something that is rarely picked up on in the midst of the focus on his interpretation of the role the scriptures played.

cited, in the same article White also attributes blame to the notion of linear progress that is found "neatly arrayed" in the Hebrew Bible's 7-day creation story.[xxii]

Terms for this damaging mentality include the "Newtonian mechanical worldview" and the "clockwork universe."[xxiii] Within the "clockwork universe", man is separate from nature and thus able, through science, to discover, divide, rationally analyze and then use the (natural) world for human "progress." For the Newtonianism endorsed by the Royal Society in England, "God was responsible for motion not by being present *in* nature and thereby providing an inner source of dynamism that made for the motion of the universe, but as a clock winder, an *external* source of motion of an otherwise intrinsically brute and inertial universe."[xxiv]

There is little question about the impact of the clockwork universe: "guided by reductionist science, (this perspective) is leading the modern world to a non-sustainable future".[xxv] Similarly, eco-ethicist Rasmussen writes: "The god of the world's secular religion since the Industrial Revolution has been material economic growth, sponsored by industrial socialism and industrial capitalism."[xxvi]

Capra and Mattei similarly critique modern society: "Across the world, over and over again, (the) paradigm of short-term extraction, state sovereignty, and private ownership fueled by money has produced huge benefits to a few at the expense of the environment and local communities."[xxvii] These authors trace current ecological destruction to the "view of the material world as a machine, separate from the mind, advanced by Rene Descartes, Isaac Newton's concept of objective unchangeable laws of nature; and a rationalist, atomistic view of society promoted by John Locke."[xxviii] In their work on the legal dimensions of this process, they argue

that the two legal principles of modernity are private ownership and state sovereignty which overtook the legal framework of common resources (i.e. forests and fisheries) and communal institutions (i.e. village structures), which held significant sway in England. While this process of private ownership started earlier, Capra and Mattei highlight the English Act of Settlement in 1701, which "stripped the commons from the domain of interests protected by law… the (heralding) of unrestricted modern private property championed by (Francis) Bacon and (John) Locke."[xxix] We see here a strong critique of some of the most venerated influencers of modern philosophies of science, mathematics, governance, and economics: Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, John Locke, and Adam Smith. I too critique these thinkers, but I trace the genealogy further back, and with a significantly greater emphasis on colonization and the witch hunts than do Capra and Matthei.

With an origin story that traces Climate Change to the separation of the human from nature and the atomization of the Universe that occurred during the Industrial Revolution/ Enlightenment, responses to Climate Change seek to create ethical frameworks that shift from a "clockwork universe" to the "integral age." Biologist and philosopher Sahtouris describes this as the need to "shift from physics as the core science to putting living systems in the center of our worldview."[xxx] According to this perspective, humans, from governments to non-profits must start following the laws, patterns and practices of nature. We need to focus on interconnection, not separation. Such rhetoric does not permit the nuanced perspective that we need to focus on what forms and shapes of interconnection we have, not just interconnection alone.

The "Great Turning"[xxxi] or the "Great Work",[xxxii] is popularized at annual conferences such as "Bioneers" in California and in international workshops. In such spaces, the rift between

science and religion spurred by the Enlightenment is bridged with myth and wonder via retelling stories, especially the Story of the Universe, which supports awe and wonder regardless of one's (a)theology.[xxxiii] Renowned workshop leader and Buddhist eco-activist Joanna Macy leads workshops that create new rituals that retell the Story of the Universe; I am one of hundreds of people she has personally trained and who continues to use her methods to develop rituals in what we call "The Work that Reconnects."[xxxiv]

This network tends to acknowledge – even put onto a pedestal - the once-ridiculed "wisdom" of Indigenous peoples as valuable and even essential.[xxxv] The basic climate justice narrative, that climate change affects the poorest and most vulnerable people first, is well-established and affirmed. Pope Francis' Encyclical *Laudato Si*, fits within (and to an extent expands) this overarching narrative: he, echoing Leonardo Boff powerfully states: "the cry of the Earth is the cry of the poor."

However, in my experience attending gatherings held by this intellectual network, there are few visibly black or indigenous peoples. Despite the attention on "indigenous wisdom," few attend to the indigenous perspective of "what went wrong." When I listen to indigenous peoples tell the story[14] of "how we got to where we are," I do not hear them starting with the Enlightenment. They start with the colonization of the Americas validated by the Doctrine of Discovery.[xxxvi]

[14] I first heard this from Betty Lyons and others from the Onondaga Nation at a meeting of the Center for Earth Ethics in the Fall of 2015 and have heard it consistently from them and others afterwards.

"Their" story is also a part of "our" collective story of the emergence of the Anthropocene Age. Without disputing the critical role of the Industrial Revolution, we need to now (re)member colonization into our collective socio-ecological story. Colonization enabled the "endless" growth in early-capitalistic Europe with minimal costs to the controllers of financial capital. "Resources" came from colonized countries; moral rational for colonization derived from Papal Bulls that have become known as the "Doctrine of Discovery." Further, the destruction of *European* indigenous wisdom (which I below refer to as traditional knowledge) happened 1-2 centuries prior to the "clockwork universe:" it happened during the European witch-hunts which were also sanctioned by a Papal Bull. With this set up as to the importance of a new story that traces certain forms of relationships, we are now ready to move into a more accurate story.

II. **Preamble and Beginnings:** The Domination Bulls and the Triangle of Terror

1. Preamble: Threads from the Roman Empire and Medieval Europe

The beginnings of our story have, of course, far deeper origins than the fifteenth century. Let us (re)member three of them that shaped the modern era: (1) patterns of domination/subjugation of the socio-ecology within the Roman Empire and the Christianity it birthed; (2) how the Crusades shaped socio-ecological patterns of European relationships to non-Europeans during the Crusades; and (3) bio-cultural shifts in the late middle ages in Europe.

1.1 The Roman Empire and Christendom

Anthony Pagden, in his history, *Lords of the World,* convincingly argues that the monarchs of the fifteenth century intentionally revitalized certain patterns of relationships and expressions of power that they remembered from the "glorious" (Holy) Roman Empire when they themselves set out to conquer the world. One fundamental dynamic, the Roman Empire's sense of its own

morally sanctioned cultural superiority to non-Romans, and its use of that superiority to endlessly grow and extract wealth from human and non-human sources outside of the metropolis, will be familiar to indigenous communities today.

Rome's sense of its own cultural superiority was supported by its interpretation of Greek concepts of the moral man. A moral man was one who was capable of living his life within the city walls through practicing the law (*civil*).[15] Civilized people lived within the city wall; uncivilized people, termed barbarians (*barbaroi*), lived outside. The wall became symbolic of the Empire's basic structure of moral inclusion and exclusion.[16] Aristotle's definition of natural slaves was used to define the "appropriate" role of "barbarians" in society. For Aristotle, "natural slave (is one) who had only a degree of rationality in him; he is primarily an irrational being… (for him to be) free is (a) violation of what nature intended him to be."[xxxvii] For the Roman philosopher Cicero, barbarians lacked the necessary rational qualities for "membership of the *civetas*, and anyone who in this way did not share the Greek and later Roman view of the nature of the good life was an object of fear and distrust, an outsider, his relationship to those who live within the civil community could only ever be one of servitude."[xxxviii] Full humanity and citizenry were thus closely linked: "barbarians" and "natural slaves" could not keep the rules of men and were thus excluded from "civilization." Part of the "distinct, even divinely ordained purpose" of the Empire was to rule "the world" (*kosmos);* those outside the world were outside the boundary of civility and thus of humanity and needed to be brought into "the world". Subduing the barbarians was

[15] The term "civil" was, first, a branch of a particular kind of law and, subsequently, used to describe a particular kind of society that followed those laws.

[16] The image of the city as the epitome of civilization was central in Greek and Roman thought and became a dominant motif for St Augustine and, subsequently, influenced generations of theologians, including the Puritan settlers in Turtle Island.

integral to bringing their territory under the emperor's control. Controlling territories gave the empire the ability to gain wealth, which historian Arthur Young argues is, along with glory and power, the primary objective of the Emperor.[xxxix]

Earlier, we saw that Capra and Matthei[xl] argue that the rise of private property was pivotal to the ethos that [today underlies climate change[17]. Capra and Matthei also helpfully remind us that the earliest record of private property in Europe arose in approximately 750 BCE, when Romulus and his supporters conquered a city in the Mediterranean. Romulus named the city 'Rome.' He divided the city of Rome amongst his staunchest supporters. These patriarchal family heads:

> received an allotment of land where he enjoyed absolute power over whatever he brought there… Private ownership became the foundational building block of the Roman legal organization. Subsequently, Roman property owners…violently expanded their domains by privatizing resources held in common.[xli]

This "domain" included women, children, animals and servants/slaves on the property. Indeed, Gaia, the Earth-Goddess, was always subordinate to the Emperor; his (and the Emperor was almost always male) ability to control Gaia enabled his rule**.** The masculine emperor's control over the feminine Earth-Goddess replicated patriarchy. In both roles and symbolism, women were associated with domesticated animals.[18] Subjugation, servitude and exploitation of

[17] Babie considers private property to be causal to climate change. See: Paul T. Babie, "Climate Change and the Concept of Private Property," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, January 20, 2010), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1539294.

[18] See: Kahl (1995). Also: Feminist scholar Elizabeth Fischer argues "the sexual subjugation of women, as it is practiced in all the known civilizations of the world, was modeled after the domestication of animals… Animals may have been the earliest form of private property on any considerable scale." See: Robert J. C. Young, *Empire, Colony, Postcolony* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

women/animals/Earth/"barbarians" vastly increased the wealth and power of the "superior"/male/rational/civilized people.[xlii]

Growth, through the consumption of land and "uncivilized" peoples, was a primary objective. It is common in the environmental movement today to focus on the economic and cultural obsession with continual growth as part of the problem. Here, we can recognize that this focus on growth is part of the character of Empire. The Roman Empire may not have created the technology to find, extract, and burn fossil fuels, but it certainly had a "growth" orientation.

Further, as Steve Newcomb points out, language terms such as "dom" inherently imply and thus inform the somatic experience of the conqueror. The language itself tells him that he is superior – physically above - those whom he has "dominated" and "subdued." This embodied language was explicitly carried forth into first colonial Europe and subsequently informed an imperial American mindset which conceptualizes the conqueror as the positive force in a dualistic dichotomy in which "good" is "above" and "bad" is "below." At a subconscious level, such terms would and continue to activate and perpetuate an embodied worldview conducive to both subtle and gross forms of dehumanization and violence.

One of the best illustrations of this first came to my attention through the scholarship of one of my professors, Dr. Brigitte Kahl. Kahl has, along with other reconstructionist New Testament scholars, done extensive work to recontextualize the New Testament in the context of the Roman Empire – not only in the context of Judaism. Kahl reminds us that the subjugation of those they were conquering, including the Gauls, was demonstrated in the primary form of communication of that era: physical statues, art pieces, and altars. Consistently, Roman deities, warriors and the Emperor himself are positioned physically above the Giants or other representations of the

subjugated people. These symbolic images portray a particular, highly intentional propaganda: that the Imperial forces are the "good guys" in a holy war against the "bad guys," the barbarians. This war is one in which a superior culture is defeating an inferior culture that borders on the non-human. Often, the images aim to depict that the very order of the world, even the whole cosmos, is at stake; in such a context, the violence depicted is conceptualized as sacred, defending the boundaries of "civilization" against potential transgression.

Kahl describes these Roman statues, iconography and other images as core to Western civilization. whom they are conquering. The Roman figures are portrayed as strong, composed, victorious and clearly in control. The Gauls or other victims are depicted as chaotic and in the process of dying: the hair is wild; their bodies are naked; rage and despair are evident in their facial expressions. Kahl's visual arguments support Newcomb's linguistic ones: the somatic language of Empire put a holy dimension on the act of domination.

Along with other New Testament scholars, Kahl suggests that Jesus s subsequent argument is that Jesus would have been considered amongst those that Rome was seeking to subjugate.

Into this context, Jesus was born in Galilee, an area known for its restless, rebellious spirit. The dark-skinned, indigenous man who never traveled beyond 12 miles of his birthplace, much less outside of his watershed, lived a life that suggested a fully different form of relationships was possible.[xliii] His home of Galilee, was known for its consistent resurgence against the Roman Empire; Rome would have conceptualized that area as rebellious, untamed and even "barbaric". His "kingdom of heaven" was in radical opposition to the Roman Empire. When the Gospel of John declares that Jesus as Word was "with God" "in the beginning", he was making a revolutionary statement that positions Jesus as prior, and thus superior to, Cesare Augustus' own

rule and that even after the Empire faded, Jesus would still be present.[xliv] His radical message of inclusive love overturned the architecture of superior-inferior relationships that prevailed in Rome and influenced his own Jewish community. His witness to a deeper truth and the present-and-future Kingdom has never been fully forgotten. As we move through the subsequent history, it is vital to remember this part of Jesus and of the inclusive, non-dominating dimension that is possible for people who follow Jesus. If we do not remember this, then it becomes all too easy to, at the risk of being cliché, cast out the baby with the bathwater: to throw out Jesus and the potential of a deep, self-less harmony that he represents out with all of the horrific and violent things done in His name.

The same Empire that killed Him later took on His name without changing its core shape and structure. Indeed, when Constantine converted to Christianity in the third century C.E., Roman notions of superiority and growth fit particularly well with Jesus' command to evangelize; the Church as the "sole source of interpretative authority" of the holy scriptures fit in well with an Empire's need to control knowledge.[xlv] Pagden writes that as Christianity joined with Empire:

> to be human - to be, that is, one who was civil and who was able to interpret correctly the law of nature - one had now also to be a Christian. By the time that Gregory the Great came to use the term "*barbarus*" it has already become synonymous with *paganous,* who did not believe refused to see the world in the same "intelligent" way that Christendom did… the Holy Roman Empire neatly incorporated the commandment in Genesis to "subdue" the earth into their rhetoric. [xlvi]

Belief supposed "intelligence," and identity shaped socio-ecological relationships in a distinctly dominating form. This belief and its association with a particular form of knowledge spread along with Christian Empire from Rome north, into what is now Europe but was then a vast multitude of small ethnic groups, kingdoms, and various Earth-honoring peasants. A key point, thus, to

remember, is that these "pagan" groups in Europe (not necessarily the term they called themselves) were themselves colonized and Christianized, often in violent ways. The elites would have been forced to align with the Empire or lose their life and/or their power. Along the edges of the Roman Empire, non-Christian groups survived in various ways. recognize that Christendom was repeating the same patterns of self-aggrandizement and domination/subjugation that Jesus himself protested against and which ultimately killed him is an irony that the Monarchs ignored. I want to be careful that as I hold up the history of Europe's colonization by a Christian imperial force in ways that would echo the domination and subjugation of peoples in other parts of the world centuries later, to not oversimplify this story. For in the diversity of theological responses to the growth of the Roman Empire lies much hope for contemporary Christians, and especially those who wish to reclaim faith pathways that honor both pagans and Christians. Let us recall that there were – possibly always were - multiple Christianities. Each interpreted critical aspects of scripture and, importantly for us, economics, hierarchy, power, and institutional organizational structure differently.

Could we start the story of the "relationships evil in design" that has led to Climate Change with the Roman Empire? The argument is there. Valid arguments also trace climate change to the birth of agriculture, and to the rise of patriarchy.[xlvii] Hence arises a critical question: *do we need a single origin point?* No: for there are, in actuality, multiple origin points. Which origin point we choose to begin a particular narrative with is determined by what we want that narrative to convey, and how what inferences we are hoping our audiences (including ourselves) will make. Focusing on the late fifteenth century helps us to better weave together contemporary anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-exploitative (ecological and human) movements. However, in

teaching this material, I find that there are always a few people who will question, "but other countries also have Empires," and, "Isn't the real issue here patriarchy"? Both of these points are utterly valid. As mentioned above, Empire is not bound to Europe. And perhaps the "real issue" is patriarchy. But the world was shaped in a particular way leading to climate change over the past few centuries by European Empires. Would the same thing have happened if an African Empire had the technology to do so? How can we know?

In addition to the Roman Empire, there were, of course, many other movements between 300 AD and the 15th century that contributed to a domination and extraction mentality. Another key moment in the formation of the Bulls of Domination was the Crusades.

1.2. The Crusades

The crusades deeply shaped Europeans' relationship with non-Christian bio-cultures, especially those bio-cultures outside of their own borders or in disputed territory. The Crusades were launched in 1095 by Pope Urban II and articulated in his Papal Bull *Terra Nullius,* which is Latin for the "land the belongs to no one." In 1240, Pope Innocent IV furthered the argument. He legalized the invasion of "infidels" land and dispossessed "pagans" of property and sovereignty. The Saracens were "barbarians" – his use of the term mirrors the Roman Empire's use. During the crusades, re-acquisition of the "promised land" became a significant motif in the Christian imagination, as did the perpetuation of a warrior God whose favor was experienced through victory on the battlefield. The "other" – both land and people – were inferior to the Christians. Subsequently, in the early 1400s, it was established that non-Christian countries were not considered "civilized."

At this moment, I can begin to weave into this meta-story the personal thread of my family history, which is close to the beginnings of our family records. Wolcott oral tradition fondly remembers the 13th century crusader Roger de Wolcott, a crusader in the thirteenth century. We have several family stories about Roger; for this paper, however, I am simply bringing him in to acknowledge that my ancestors were amongst these crusaders: this is not some abstract history of some distant land.

Medieval relationships to the land

The third thread in this "preamble" is the complex bio-culture of Europe during the late middle ages. Even as an image of a warrior God prevailed during the Crusades of the middle ages, on European farms one could also find images of Earth as a sacred "living organism and a nurturing mother," if not actually Divine. According to eco-feminist historian Carolyn Merchant, such images:

> served as a culture constraint restricting the actions of human beings. One does not readily… dig into (a mother's) trails for gold or mutilate her body. As long as the earth was considered to be alive and sensitive, it could be considered a breach of human ethical behavior to carry out destructive acts against it.

Regular rituals and ceremonies, some of which had pre-Christian histories and some of which were adopted, created and practiced by the Church, whose liturgical calendar became tied to the European seasonal calendar, celebrated the turning of the seasons upon which the agricultural socio-economy depended.

These practices differed vastly from place to place. The English had a particular and unusual relationship to their own land distinct from continental Europe that influenced how we

now understand property and the shape of the Anthropocene Age. When Christianity mixed with Anglo-Saxon folk culture, the people turned Genesis 1:28 into an invocation to:

> render soil fertile for grazing and harvesting. (It was) chanted at dawn over a patch of infertile ground from which the sold and been removed…. And the new seeds planted… Nowhere else in Europe was Genesis 1:28 translated (like that) ….If, as Lynn White Jr. argues, Gen 1:28 justifies modern ruthlessness to nature then this link is characteristically and uniquely English.[xlviii]

These multi-generational rituals shaped people's relationship with the earth.

Related, many peasants developed and passed down what we might now call Traditional Knowledge. The term "traditional Knowledge" is generally used for "non-scientific" indigenous peoples' knowledge systems (including the Sami in Scandinavia). Traditional Knowledge is place-based knowledge:

> that is developed over time and used to sustain a community. Traditional knowledge can consist of experience, culture, environment, local resources, animal knowledge, or plant resources…Traditional knowledge is generally considered part of the collective ownership of the community and is transmitted across generations through traditional stories...songs, proverbs… folklore, community laws, common or collective property and invention, practices and rituals.

Place-based knowledge, devising from the landscape, requires generations of observational experiences. A spirituality in which all beings are infused with a kind of animism – what romantic philosophers would later refer to as living in an "enchanted" world – is often a key component of Traditional Knowledge. In Europe, those people who had such knowledge, practicing as folk doctors or midwives, came to be known as witches. Because of the mass propaganda and hysteria around the witch-hunts, our historical records of the role of "witches" and those who carried the Traditional Knowledge is poor. Reuther argues that these women (and some men) were rarely resented by their communities except when her medicine (or "spells") failed to work. These

women had little need of intermediaries between herself and the sacred and worked outside of the hierarchies that saturated the medieval church.[xlix] In contrast, the upper class, male-dominated "medical" profession was based on theology, philosophy and leeching instead of the well-honed Traditional Knowledge of the villages.

In a predominantly oral cultural, the music, dance, and ritual everyday life – people's cultural practices – were also key holders of knowledge. Socio-ecological relationships echoed these bio-cultural relationships in which a degree of self-restraint was valued. In England,[19] for example, it was considered inappropriate for landlords to try to maximize their profits; they had responsibility for the welfare of the tenants. The poorest of the poor survived from hunting and gathering on "waste" land or "commons": Woods, fens, and land not under cultivation that was, to a certain extent, owned collectively. Feminist historian Sylvia Federici argues that during this time, women were often relatively equal to men of their same class. Class struggles were common, and often spearheaded by women, but within a given class, especially the peasants, crafters, and merchants, there was a fair amount of equality in their work and often, families would have divided production labor as much by personal preference and practical considerations as by prescribed social norms.

In the late middle ages, these relatively steady and strong relationships between the people and the land began to change. Merchant offers a thorough review of the confluence of social, technological and ecological contributors to these shifts, including the devastating waves of the Black Plague, first appearing in 1348 and reappearing through the next three centuries.

[19] English Common law, dating back to the Magna Carta in 1100, limited the rights of lords and gave England a distinct history from continental European law. In both England and Europe, kings held the authority of God, hence the phrase, "the divine right of kings."

The final major outbreak in London, killing 100,000 people, was not until 1665. The telos of life was subsequently orientated towards the afterlife; in a context where 30-60 percent of the population was dying, an alienation from nature resulted. Nature was no longer a source of protection; the earth became a place of demons and death; non-imminent theologies gained strength.

Thomas Berry writes in *Dream of the Earth* that the Black Death was a "central traumatic moment in Western history." He suggests that the Black Death, in combination with other social changes, led to two trajectories: "one towards a religious redemption out of the tragic world; the other toward a greater control of the physical world to escape its pain and to increase its utility to human society." The phenomenal world, the material world, was so threatening that there was an intensive attempt to activate forces within the spiritual world. Berry writes that "redemption mystique became the overwhelming form of Christian experience…to the neglect of the revelatory import of the natural world." Of course, such redemptive focus, in which Creation itself needed to be redeemed for the world itself (not just humanity) was seen as sinful had always been a possibility of Christianity – a strand within it that could be developed - but the Black Plague, perhaps sympathetically, strengthened this dynamic exponentially. Berry argues that both subsequent religious and scientific tendencies evolved from the Black Death experience. Berry, like many other authors of his genre, does not look seriously to the witch hunts or to the experiences of colonization in the creation of the religious and scientific paradigms as we know them today and their implications for what it means to journey as Earthlings. I help the process of connecting those pieces below.

Thus, on the eve of what was to become the fall of Constantinople and the subsequent loss of what had once been a relatively united Eastern and Western Christendom, theologies that desacralized "this world" and dehumanized the non-Christian "other" were both strong. Our "stage" is now set; we can turn to the "beginnings" of this highly dramatic story.

2. Beginnings: Three Papal Bulls of Domination and the Triangle of Terror

I here originate certain critical "relationships evil in design" into the interplay of three Bulls, which I refer to as the Bulls of Domination. Each Bull permitted and to an extent blessed immense bio-cultural violence in three different parts of the world, perpetuated by a similar group of people similarly sanctified by the Church at roughly the same historical moment. I call this the "triangle of terror."

2.1 The Bull that launched the slave trade

The context is the Crusades. In the early 1450s, the newly crowned King Alfonso V of Portugal was so known for his success in the crusades in north Africa that he was dubbed "the African;" an ironic title for the man who helped initiate generations of slavery and colonization on the continent. When the potential profits from the explorations of his uncle, Henry the Navigator, down the coast of Africa became evident, Alfonso requested the blessing and authority to explore and exploit these non-European territories from Pope Nicholas V. On June 18, 1452, Pope Nicholas addressed the papal bull *Dum Diversas* to King Alfonso V. The Bull granted Alfonso the moral authority to reduce any "Saracens (Muslims) and pagans and any other unbelievers" to "perpetual slavery." This facilitated the Portuguese slave trade from West Africa.[l]

Three years later, in 1455, Nicholas V strengthened *Dum Diversas* in *Romanus Pontifex,* and encouraged Alfonso and Henry the Navigator (the "aforesaid infante" below) to enslave non-Christian people:

> We…grant... free and ample faculty to the aforesaid King Alfonso -- to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed, and the kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit -- by having secured the said faculty, the said King Alfonso, or, by his authority, the aforesaid infante, justly and lawfully has acquired and possessed, and doth possess, these islands, lands, harbors, and seas, and they do of right belong and pertain to the said King Alfonso and his successors.[li]

Perhaps the first thing that comes across to the modern reader is the sheer arrogance of this document: Pope Nicholas V sanctifies the act of conquering: to "invade, search out, capture, vanquish and subdue" land *and* people that, he admits, are completely unknown to him or to any other European. The theological reasoning behind this is a critical component to understanding subsequent historical events.

What does it mean to be pope at this time? The Pope's role as God's embassy on Earth pivots around the ecclesiastical mandate of seeking and desiring the salvation of all peoples. To understand this theological gesture and its impact on people in Africa, I have found Willie James Jennings' momentous theological work, *The Christian Imagination: theology and the origins of race"* to be invaluable. Jennings' primary concern is the depth of the theology of racial relationships since colonization that demonstrates the diseased Christian social imagination. He does not self-identify as an eco-theologian or environmentalist. Nevertheless, his discussion of the overarching history of displacement and race bears as much importance to any theological

and ecological history as it does to theological and social history. Jennings powerfully argues that in this role, the Church supersedes Israel and comes to have, in its own conception, totalizing jurisdiction over the world, which belongs to the God the Church serves and thus to the Church:

> the "position of the church in relation to the nations echoes the original constituting relation, that between Israel and the world. Here Israel has been superseded and the framework reconstituted through the Vicar of Christ so that the whole world is viewed through boundless desire… presenting a totalizing vision that activates a thoroughgoing anti-essentialist rendering of peoples…. All people become simply sheep bound under paternal-ecclesial care.[lii]

The ecclesiastical argument is built on *creation ex nihilo* – the creation by the Creator of all things out of nothing. Nicholas here builds on and extends the 1022 and 1240 Papal Bulls that validated the Crusaders' "just wars" against pagans and Saracens in the Holy Land. Jennings argues that as creation *ex nihilo* includes the fundamental instability to all things (nothing is sure in itself without being held together by God), "peoples exist without a necessary permanence either of place or of identity."[liii] In this hermeneutic, their essentialist need – to be saved by God – overrides their need of connection to a particular people (their family and community) or place (including their historical land). Further, because all things (including people) belong to God – especially in the incarnation of Jesus Christ – as text belongs to author, the Pope, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, has the right to inscribe the process of creation on already created human beings and landscapes. This theological point is often underappreciated in discussions of the Doctrine of Discovery's influence on contemporary assumptions regarding the human capacity to create and shape human-ecological relationships. Jennings describes this interpretation of human's creative powers:

> The pope granted Portuguese royalty the right to reshape the discovered landscapes, their peoples and their places as they wished. These actions inscribe the contingency of creation itself within the will and desire of church and the colonial powers. The inherent

> instability of creation means that all things may be altered in order to bring them to proper order toward saved existence. Church and realm,… stand between peoples and lands and determine a new relationship between them, dislodging particular identities from particular places. Displacement is the central operation at work here.[liv]

The assumption that the European could and should change the human-land relationship (indeed, the two are closely associated in the Papal Bull) in a particular way with simultaneous, inter-related, unabashed commercial profits and soteriological results fully disregarded the pre-existing culture, history, creative powers, knowledge and agency in Africa (and, as we shall see, later the Americas). Instead they were reduced to living in "perpetual slavery." Lands unseen, much less explored, became the "rightful" territory of Christendom to be used "for their profit." The fate of the land and the fate of the people who lived on the land was thus always closely intertwined. Land ("territories") throughout Africa would, eventually, become key sources of material wealth in the form of the destruction of non-human beings ~~(~~such as trees~~)~~ with little to nothing given back to the land in return. With the beginnings of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Europeans greatly profited—and consistently claimed they were bringing the people to Christ through enslavement.

This was, Jennings argues, the beginnings of the process of race, not place, becoming the primary marker of identity. As people were forcefully displaced from the socio-ecological systems of forests, mountains and rivers that had informed their cosmological systems ~~a~~s well as their social physical identities, ~~a~~ new identity, determined by the colonizer. The colonizer saw himself and his own white skin color as "normal", "good," and "civilized," and everyone else was viewed on a racial scale in comparison to that. Particular places and their cultures were disregarded in favor of the overarching racial hierarchy ~~t~~hat enabled a global organizing of all peoples based on

skin color. Places, as well as people, also changed during this process.[20] I will pick up this theme in greater depth later on; for now, it is enough to note that this process started in Africa, with blackness becoming the opposite of whiteness, an opposition with theological and moral interpretations that have shaped our world ever since. Whiteness became the organizing metric against which all other bodies were judged. White people, as carriers of the gospel and the authority of the Church, had the capacity to create a new land and people alike: the world they created was one in which "identity was calibrated through possession of, not possession by, specific land…. Racial agency … rendered unintelligible and unpersuasive any narratives of the collective self that bound identity to geography, to earth, to water, trees and animals."[lv]

The African slave trade thus becomes the first point on what I refer to as the "triangle of terror" which violently severed people from place and re-constructed the relationship between the human spirit-mind-body and between people, place and the sacred. A new world - both people and place - was violently, horrifically created that was a blasphemy to the God in whose name these actions were carried out and a gross misuse of certain people's creative capacity.

The European-dominated variation on the pre-existing slave trade in Africa disrupted previous relationships of trust as it penetrated the continent, bringing with it brutality, immense displacement and disruption of communities, a previously unknown exchange system based on the (international) market unmitigated by kinship networks of mutual obligation. It wreaked havoc on locally-based socio-economies of local and communal consumption as well as

[20] Further research is needed here to illustrate the ecological impact of the slave trade and the shifting shape of Africa, especially West Africa's, bio-culture.

exchanges that embodied a "modern commercial economy". As Jenkins says, "Africans committing to this exchange strategy were required to fundamentally alter their way of life."

The slave trade derived from ecclesiastical authority and was carried out in a way that, Jennings argues, had overlays of public ritual that powerfully, horrifically and demonically mirrored the suffering of Jesus Christ. Women, men and children were torn from their familiar mountains and forests, and forced-marched, bound first with rope and then with metal chains, to the coast. Jennings argues that the march was the:

> demonic reversal of a pilgrimage…the pilgrimage, step after step, edging exhaustion, reveals the vulnerability of the human creature and humans' longing for God as companion and destiny... But the march of black flesh in bonds to the sea mocked that journey through reversal. The march of slaves, greedily hurried black bodies, toward death-filled ports demonically mimicked the divine banishment of the first family from the garden. Slavers would not have imagined this brutal march as a theological act, yet it was so in the most sinister way.[lvi]

For the march forced the people to re-imagine their identity with themselves, with the sacred, with the landscapes. As they were forced onto the slave ship, this only continued. The march continued to the auctioning block and the shore; men and women, upon seeing the slave ships upon the ocean, would often moan in despair and fall in horror or faint in ways that mirror Jesus' march to the cross. Jennings argues that those theologically well-educated Europeans who witnessed this process, such as Henry the Navigator's chronicler, Zurara, who was well-aware and even moved to tears by the suffering of his fellow human beings – but he never seems to have questioned that this was God's will. And then the slaves were forced onto the slave ships, "a particular moment when human beings seize limitless possibilities" through re-making the African into a slave. Captains came to represent "both the European feudal past and its Enlightenment mercantile future" and the international crew of sailors who served because,

often, their only other option was slavery; they formed a "brotherhood of suffering and violence." Sailors were beaten and tortured and in turn "took out their anger on black bodies by beating, whipping and torturing slaves." Potential for freedom and brotherhood were "engulfed in the one reality of violence. The ships' cosmopolitanism was constructed through violence and on the foundation of the African slave, the one whose body marks the accumulation of profit through time. The slave ship distorted the power of joining together many different peoples on a common journey and mission."[lvii] Death was for many a desirable friend; for many bound in coffin-like spaces below deck, suicide was prevented. Eating, one of the most basic forms of affirming community and offering thanks, was malignantly turned into an act of force-feeding. Those who did die were thrown overboard, where sharks shifted their pre-existing feeding patterns to follow the slave ships and consume black human bodies. Jennings refers to this as a "stark reminder of death's imperial power reigning on board and of a creation in disarray."

For those who survived the watery passage, which often entailed some kind of a formal baptism into Christianity they were taken to new lands, they were in effect "reborn" to a new identity in a new place. That new place was, more often than not, undergoing its own horrific process of re-configuration. As I shall explain in greater detail below, the sugar plantations were not only places of human slavery; the monocrop plantations themselves had significantly if not utterly destroyed the biodiversity of luscious and magnificent islands and, increasingly, the mainland in Latin America and South America.

At this point, most stories of the Doctrine of Discovery move from *Romanus Pontifex* to *Inter Catera*, the bull written upon Christopher Columbus's return. Jennings himself goes in between the Americas and Africa in discussing race and place. I, however, suggest that this story

can only be understood if we turn to Europe, not only as a source of papal bulls whose pronouncements effected state and military action that itself (mal)created a new world, but was also a place that was going through its own form of forced disconnection and dis-placement between certain types of bodies and their natural environment. I turn to the "Witch Bull", written in 1484, which sanctified the torture and burning of poor women, who were the keepers of Europe's Traditional/Indigenous Knowledge.

2.2 The Witch Bull and the second point on the Triangle of Terror

In Europe, the witch hunts similarly separated people from place, dis-membering centuries of traditional knowledge from the collective capacity for wisdom. There were several stages of this destruction, a slow process that would eventually lead to what Engels referred to as a "disenchanted" worldview that he associated with the Enlightenment. I suggest that this disenchantment can more properly be associated with this overarching moment, of which the witch hunts were a critical dynamic. Thus, the Great European witch hunts constitutes the second point of the "triangle of terror."

The witch hunts contributed to the Anthropocene Age in several significant ways: the dis-membering of people from place via the destruction of indigenous cultural ceremonies, the destruction of indigenous European women's traditional knowledge of healing and their critical role in caring for the womb, the sacred place of birth, and the use of the witch-hunts to erase competition from the growing elite male medical profession and as a generative metaphor for the scientific revolution.

Leading up to the Witch Hunts

Sylvia Federici's classic book, *Caliban and the Witch,* details the socio-economic shifts that contributed to the witch hunts and were influenced by them. She argues that in the feudal system, women had relatively similar rights to men of the same class as were they. Feudalism was characterized, she argues, by a "relentless class struggle" in which women played a key role. As life became increasingly monetized, women's access to power and income relative to men's access was significantly reduced. When the Black Death arose, however, the significant decrease in population meant that labor was scarce. A scarce labor force put greater power in the hands of the peasants. Labor wages doubled or tripled in the 15th century, affording the highest standard of living for the non-propertied classes until the 19th century. The propertied classes sought to take back power: not an easy task under the circumstances. In Europe, their strategy, according to Federici, entailed turning the class antagonism of young, restless and rebellious men into an antagonism against women. It was a variation of a "divide and conquer" approach that had devastated consequences for European women.

One of the first steps was the decriminalization of rape in the lower classes. Gang rapes became common in France, which not only devastated women but made them social outcasts, unable to find a husband especially if the rape resulted in a child. Prostitution was legalized and municipalities began to sponsor brothels. Many of the women who had been raped were forced to turned to prostitution as their only chance of livelihood. Between 1350-1450, publicly managed, tax-financed brothels were opened in every town and village in Italy and France as it

"provided an antidote to the orgiastic sexual practices of the heretic sects and was a remedy for sodomy and a means to protect family life."

But even the institutionalization of rape was insufficient to fully quell the power of women and to control their bodies, especially their own knowledge around their own bodies and their ability to bring forth life, also known as, reproduction.

The burgeoning Faculty of Medicine launched attacks against women healers who treated well-to-do patients. These women were their direct competitors.[lviii] By the 14th-century, the medical professions' "campaign against urban, enacted women healers was virtually complete throughout Europe. Male doctors won a clear monopoly over the practice among the upper classes."[lix] The medical profession subsequently joined with the Church to persecute women.

There was also a growing social anxiety, caused not least by the Black Death[lx] which contributed to the increasing desire to control an uncontrollable nature with which women were closely associated. Witches became "free-floating anxiety symbols of diabolic femaleness...a scapegoat for a society in the midst of substantial change and in which the image of the devil was very real." [lxi] At first, the witch-hunts included both sexes and broke the indigenous earth-honoring ceremonies that were, after centuries of co-existing with the Church, suddenly deemed un-Christian.[lxii] Rituals speak in a language that animals and birds can in their own way understand: to dis-assemble ritualistic patterns is to disjoin humans from our fellow beings. The banning of these ceremonies undoubtably paved the way for the subsequent attempted destruction.

Most of these dynamics which would have marginalized women of all classes but especially poor women and disconnected them from their communities and their culture were supported by both the State and the Church. They reflected both social anxiety and a desire to control a world that was rapidly changing. As Reuther argues, the Church's primary way of dealing with theodicy was to externalize it, and the devil, who worked on Jews, Muslims and now women, was the image parfait of evil.[lxiii]

About a century after the early stages of the witch-hunts began, Reverend Heinrich Kramer and Reverend Jacob Sprenger were refused permission to investigate women as "devil worshipers" by local bishops in southern Germany. In 1484, the two Dominican priests appealed to Pope Alexander V to approve their efforts. Pope Innocent VIII issued the Papal Bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus,* authorizing the "correcting, imprisoning, punishing and chastising" of those who "give themselves over to the devil" and who then "ruin and cause to perish the offspring of women, the foals of animals, the products of the earths" and "slain infants unborn" (abortions) and other crimes.[lxiv] It is commonly referred to as the "Witch Bull." Kramer put the bull at the head of his book, *Malleus Mallifracum* (MM), the "Hammer of the Witches." Although Pope Alexander VIII did not explicitly approve of MM, it became the authoritative handbook to witch-hunts, including the systematic torture of women. The Church banned the book in 1490. Their attempted censorship failed: it was reprinted in 14 editions by 1520.

MM "elevated to law"[lxv] the Exodus text, "you shall not permit a sorceress to live" (Exod 22:18). MM is one of the most blatantly misogynist documents ever written. It is filled with sadistic sexual fantasies (six out of seven of the chapters are highly sexual) and it is hard to fathom the imagination of the men who wrote it. Prior to the widespread publication of the book, the

term “witch” was not as strongly associated with the feminine: Kramer made this connection explicit when he wrote the Latin term for “witch”, “malifr*a*cum”, a femininized version of the masculine “malifr*o*cum”.

Pope Innocent VII, like Rev Sprenger, located the base of the devil’s power in women’s own sexual desire and sexual weakness: witchcraft “comes from carnal lust which in women is insatiable.”[lxvi] Reuther traces this to the earlier mind-body split, in which sacrality was found through denying the body and evil was closely associated with the physical world, especially the feminine sexual being. Women were accused of everything from preventing births (abortion), to cutting off male “members” to enticing sexual desire by men. The last is little more than an accusation that a woman had sexuality. Sexualized torture techniques included stripping and shaving her woman’s body, including her pubic hair, to search for signs of copulation with the devil; pricking and poking all parts of her body; and forcing her to sit, while naked, on a molten-hot iron seat. Under torture, she would relinquish the name of other “witches.” Such torture destroyed feminine social networks and devastated communal life. In one German village, only one woman was left alive; we can only guess what the remainder of her life was like.

We see here deep connections between Eros and ecology; the flow of wealth (as both material and non-material knowledge, goods and services) and socio-economic structures, are here closely connected. Women had been the leaders in the revolts against rising taxation and the rising price of bread; these women were subsequently burned in the highly shameful public ritual. Federici powerfully argues:

> the witch hunts grew in a social environment where the ‘better sorts’ were living in constant fear of the ‘lower classes’ who could certainly be expected to harbor evil

> thoughts because in this period they were losing everything they had. That this fear expressed itself as an attack on popular magic is not surprising. The battle against magic has always accompanied the development of capitalism, to this very day. Magic is premised on the belief that the world is animated, unpredictable, and that there is a force in all things.... Leading to widespread use of incantations..... magic seemed a form of refusal of work, of insubordination and an instrument of grassroots resistance to power. *The world had to be disenchanted in order to be dominated. (*emphasis my own)

During the "Burning Times," poor, indigenous women's "knowledge to live by," was violently turned into "expertise to rule by" as the witch-hunts violently severed women's life-giving, traditional medicinal knowledge. When the *Malleus Malifracum* declared that, "no one does more harm to the Catholic Church than does the midwife," it distanced the prevailing moral authority from women healers and from the inherently female process of giving life. The womb itself was under attack. The medical profession became the "experts" in healing. Their expertise was deployed to rule over women who, often, probably knew more about health and healing than they did, as Kramer viewed medical professionals as the ideal authorities to determine if a woman healer was a witch and the Church sanctioned male doctor's participation in Witch trials. As this happened, book-centered, expensive education at Universities gained societal value over learning directly from nature herself and oral healing traditions. Male doctors replaced female healers. Of course, some local healers escaped. But the role they held was ridiculed and shamed.[lxvii]

We can also conceptualize this as a moment of disorientation and displacement. The women were not removed from their place as were Africans and others forced into slavery and other forms of socio-ecological control during colonization. However, the witch was

disorientated. The burnings were highly public affairs; in her own square, where she would have traded potatoes and cabbage and helped her children walk, her place of origin was turned against her. That which had orientated her – her family, community and her capacity as a healer – often became that which was turned against her. As her place in society and in her own landscape was severed at the pyre, much was lost to her community and the possibility of trust between men and women, and between women. It would have been an utterly disorientating experience for the entire community; have we ever properly re-orientated ourselves?

How much did the loss of land-bonding rituals and celebrations, women's healing and life-supporting knowledge, and the demonization of women's sexuality and desire impact the whole community? How much did that loss shape the orientation of those men who subsequently became colonizers and slave traders in Africa and the Americas and perpetuated the same pattern of abuse, torture, and dismissal of knowledge? Surely, these are relationships "evil in design." Eco-feminist pagan author Starhawk argues that, "to destroy a culture's trust in its healers is to destroy that culture's trust in itself, to shatter its cohesive bonds and expose it to control from outside."[lxviii]

Bacon, Scientific Discovery, and the Witch-hunts

But the witch-hunts did not only sever (female) people from place and loosen the community's cohesive bonds, which we earlier argued as critical for surviving in the Anthropocene Age. It also provided the metaphors and examples for the "discovery" of knowledge of the human-earth body so pivotal to the Enlightenment. Francis Bacon, considered

one of the fathers of modern science, provides an example[21] of how the witch-hunts were used to further create, as Bilgrami says, "epistemologies to rule by." The concern here is not with Bacon's scientific method per se so much as the metaphysics that underpinned it, shaped its use, and which advanced certain elite interests, binding elites and non-elites into "relationships evil in design".

Bacon borrowed from the inquisition of witches to frame the scientific method of discovery. Merchant argues that when Bacon "treats nature as a female to be tortured through mechanical inventions, (he) strongly suggests the interrogations of the witch trials and the mechanical devices used to torture witches."[lxix]

Bacon imbues nature with the qualities of a sexual female to be conquered by the male scientist: the "objective," male scientist is to "hound nature" and hold nothing back in the "disclosing off the secrets of nature" nor to "make scruple of entering and penetrating into those holes and corners, when the inquisition of truth is his whole object."[lxx] Merchant argues that Bacon's scientific method, combined with technology, would create a new system of investigation that united knowledge with material power. These new abilities have the "power to conquer and subdue her (nature), to shake her to her foundations." Elsewhere, Bacon said that nature must be "bound into service," made a "slave" who is "constrained" and "molded" by the mechanical arts. This sentence was written in the early stages of the trans-Atlantic slave trade: to what extent did the treatment of African people shape the intellectual elite's imagination as to how they could treat nature?

[21] Merchant reminds us that while Bacon might have been one of the most influential writers on this topic he was, also echoing a sentiment of his time.

Bacon clearly and pervasively turned the constraints of the old into sanctions for the new. The most "wholesome and noble" was not to respect nature's limits, as it was in the more self-constrained era of the middle ages, but "to endeavor to establish and extend the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe… in this way the human race (could) recover that right over nature which belongs to it by divine bequest."

Here, "dominion" (Genesis I:28) described and validated man's control of nature, as famously noted by theologian Lynn White Jr. Newcomb, as demonstrated above, points out that later in Genesis, "dominion" also means God's chosen people's "right" to control those who are in a given land prior to their entry. Eco-feminist researchers such as Merchant point to what White was less clear about: that the domination of women and the domination of nature in Western history are both symbolically and actually, physically, connected. Merchant argues that, "the interrogation of the witches was a symbol of the interrogation of nature, the courtroom as model for its inquisition and torture through mechanical devices as a tool for the subjection of disorder."[lxxi]

Commonly, the mind-body split to Descartes whose famous words, "I think therefore I am" have come to epitomize an entire philosophical approach. However, as Descartes was himself inspired by Bacon, echoing his predecessor's metaphysics when he professed that the knowledge of the laws of motion was necessary to "have dominion over nature."[lxxii] Here, we see that the genealogy of self-aggrandizement, alienation, disenchantment, and domination as it relates to the mind-body split can be traced further back: Bacon himself was strongly influenced by what he witnessed in the witch trials of his time. The violence against the earth in Europe was practiced first against the poor woman's mind and her sexual body. The metaphysics of alienation

that underpinned the science that has been so distrusted and abused across the non-white world had at least some of its origins in the witch-hunts. In the centuries to come, throughout the world, "the rape of the Earth and the rape of women are intimately linked – both metaphorically, in shaping world views, and materially, in shaping women's everyday lives."[lxxiii]

Although the term "discovery" was not used in the witch-hunts to the extent or with the same meaning (to "discover" a "new land") as it was in the series of documents and court decisions that became known as the "Doctrine of Discovery," the term was still used during the witch hunts to the degradation of people, place, and our process of human knowledge. The violent process of "discovery," in which the devil was supposedly sought, found and ousted through torturing and burning women, was enacted during the "Burning Times", when up to 100,000 women[22] were destroyed in Europe. During this time, an epistemology developed that connected seeking knowledge with the violent metaphors of "hounding" and "bonding" the natural world. This epistemology was portrayed as "devoid of cultural and political assumptions,"[lxxiv] but it is more accurate to say that a violent process of erasure of one bio-culture and the subsequent replacement with a dramatically different set of values. This epistemology validated and perpetuated deep othering and violence. It fits with the pattern of "discovery" that was perpetuated and globalized in the papal bull *Inter Caetera* upon Christopher Columbus' return from Turtle Island.

[22] The numbers of women killed vary widely; 100,000 women is on the upper side. Significantly more were tortured, raped, lost mothers and sisters, and suffered from deep fear, anxiety and vilification from their community. Some people estimate that 6-7 million people (men and women) were deeply traumatized in this process.

2.3 The third point on the triangle: Columbus and the Doctrine of Discovery

The third point on the "triangle of terror" is in the Americas; the process of "discovery" that enabled the destruction of the Americas started in Spain. Because this historical moment has so profoundly shaped the socio-ecology of our modern world, I give greater attention to some familiar characters.

Two decades after King Alfonso of Portugal received the "rights" to "discover" Africa, the aging Portuguese monarch (whose son Joao was already in line to become the next King), sought to marry his distant cousin, the seventeen-year-old princess Isabella of Castile in modern day Spain. The proposal, much favored by Isabella's half-brother King Enrique, brought her to tears. Desperate, covert enquiries yielded a seemingly perfect match: the handsome, athletic Prince Ferdinand of the neighboring Kingdom of Aragon. Isabella and Ferdinand married in 1476 to the dismay of King Enrique and the fury of King Alfonso who was on his way on what he thought would be *his* marriage to Isabella. The young monarchs' road to marriage was nothing short of a saga of secret love, mysterious deaths, family feuds, civil warfare and enough family drama to make their conviction that God Himself favored their combined rule seem understandable. King Alfonso of Portugal and his son and heir Jaoa never forgave Isabella: the hostility between the two kingdoms was as much a personal as a political-economic division.[lxxv]

Christopher Columbus astutely played the two rival nations against one another in his attempt to gain royal patronage for his dream of voyaging west to arrive in the East. Even so, it took eight years after his initial meeting in 1486 with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella before Spain agreed to the ambitious, exceptionally arrogant young navigator's scheme. He would be granted the title "Admiral" of any lands he would "discover and acquire."[lxxvi] As the child's rhyme goes that I learned in grade-school, "on (August 3,) 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue."[lxxvii]

When Columbus landed on the island of Guanahani three months later, he enacted what historian Patricia Seed refers to as an immensely symbolic " ceremony of possession": he planted a Spanish flag, thrust his sword into the ground, said a prayer, and "baptized" the island as San Salvador.[lxxviii] If he ever knew what the Guanahanese called themselves, he never recorded it, referring to them simply as "indies"; the people of Turtle Island have lived with this "colossal" and "egocentric" mistake ever since.[lxxix] In his journal that night, after mentioning the gentleness and kindness of the first people he met on Guanahani, he wrote that they "ought to be good servants and of good skill… (who) could easily be made Christians because it seemed to me that they belonged to no religion." Columbus clearly assumed that the non-Christian Other would serve him, a possibly sub-conscious echo of Aristotle's concept of natural slavery. As in the Crusades and during the Roman Empire, the integrated exploitation of people and natural resources (especially gold) was considered morally acceptable, even desirable.

Upon Columbus' return to Spain laden with human and non-human "wealth," King Alfonso's son, Jaoa, began preparing ships to follow Columbus' route. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella did not want Portuguese interference. As two of the greatest military powers in Europe, a prolonged conflict between Spain and Portugal could have sent Europe into chaos. Pope Alexander VI, who had penned the Witch Bull less than fifteen years earlier, was called upon to help settle the dispute.

In a moment of great haste that was to influence the lives of the millions of people around the world, three bulls were subsequently drawn up on May 3 and May 4, 1493. *Inter Caetera* is the final and most significant. It opens with the sentiment "that in our times especially the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread."

Evangelization becomes the primary moral objective underlying the "right" to discovery. Using the language of "discovery" links *Inter Caetera* with the Bulls of his predecessor, Pope Nicholas V. The need for a moral reason to conquer harkens back to the Roman Empire's need for an ethical imperative of "civilizing" the barbarian with their "superior" way of living.

Inter Caetera continues to applaud the Spanish monarchs, not least for their success in overthrowing the "Saracens" in Grenada. Alexander VI's reference to the Crusades reads as if the monarch's previous success in the Crusades prepared them for the "conquest" of the unknown people (who, of course, knew of neither Christianity nor Islam). After long compliments of the Spanish monarchs and Columbus, "a man assuredly worthy of the highest recommendations," the Pope Alexander VI evokes God's authority and his own power as the "vicarship of Jesus Christ which we hold on earth," and grants him the "donation," of the still-unknown New World.[lxxx] These Bulls were subsequently referred to in Europe as the "Donation Bulls." Upon "establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south" Alexander VI split the world in half, giving one half to Spain and the other to Portugal. The Bull concludes with a series of warnings against disobeying it; these are most likely aimed at King Alfonso V.

Although upset at this ruling, which was highly in Spain's favor, Portugal did not dare "shake the foundation of the underlying principle of prior discovery, a principle that, along with the earlier papal grants, was the legal underpinning for Portugal's monopoly over trade and exportation and the African coast."[lxxxi] *Inter Catera* successfully redirected the brewing tensions between the Spanish and Portugese military powerhouses onto peoples and land outside of Europe. The bull was heeded by other European countries for, roughly, the next century; even when they started

their own explorations, they still worked within the rubric of "discovery": whoever was the first to see the lands could then have possessions of them, for they were either empty (*terrus nullus*) or filled with pagans and barbarians fit to be enslaved and possibly converted.[lxxxii] The intertwined fate of the land and the people of the land was manipulated through violence into the process of colonization, capitalism, and natural resource extraction for the purpose of the profit of a few.[lxxxiii] The assault on the Americans in the name of "god, gold, and glory" began. Of this time, indigenous feminist theologian Andrea White writes:

> Europe was intoxicated with the prospects of wealth from the New World that seemed to be waiting for them to reach out and pluck. But what would be a new life of freedom, opportunity, advancement and wealth for the Europeans would be the beginning of enslavement, decimation, isolation, and dehumanization for others. The human sacrifices offered to "nature gods" scandalized the Europeans, but they would not hesitate to offer Indians and blacks to the gods of profit and greed.

To "discover" was not to "encounter" insofar as to "encounter" entails an "other" who is her own agent. "Discovery" was obtained through sight and, in the case of Columbus, planting a flag. It did not arise through engaging with another fully conscious being. The people were orientated towards Rome, and the dream of the Holy Roman Empire and the greatness associated with it. To gain gold was not only to become rich, but, as Columbus said, to become "lord of all he wants. With gold it is even possible to open for souls the way to paradise!"[lxxxiv]

The exploitation and death of the indigenous people preceded the exploitation of the land. By 1503, just a decade after *Inter Caetera*, Spanish merchants were importing black slaves from Portuguese trading posts in Ghana to replace the Native Tainos in Hispaniola who were slain by Spanish brutality and who had no immunity to European diseases, not least small pox, which

ravaged the peoples of first South and subsequently North America.[23] Approximately 75 million people lived in the Western Hemisphere in 1491; 50-60 million died from disease. By 1530, the islands of the Greater Antilles were virtually devoid of their original inhabitants. Acknowledging the devastation caused by European diseases need not detract us from Spanish violence:

> …the expedition's leaders saw violence as essential for achieving their goals. To create and maintain slavery and to suppress real and imagined insurrections, the Spanish regularly maimed, murdered, and waged war against Native people. The purpose was not to kill every single Indian (some were needed to work) but to terrorize them into submission. Rape, evidently common, did not simply reveal individual or group pathologies, it functioned as a tool of terror. Violence, then, was central to Spanish colonization in the Caribbean, although far more Indians died from disease, malnutrition, and starvation.[lxxxv]

Violence. Terror. The honest first-hand accounts of men such as the Jesuit priest Bartolome de la Casas in his "*Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*" leaves no doubt as to the destruction. A few sentences from his account should suffice:

> because the Indians did not give (the Spaniard) a coffer filled with gold… they killed an infinite number of souls, and cut off the hands and noses of countless women and men, and others they threw to the savage dogs, who ate them and tore them to pieces…. They would bind (on gibbets) thirteen of the Indians at one time, in honor and reverence they said of Our Redeemer and the twelve Apostles, and put firewood around it and burn the Indians alive.[lxxxvi]

For De la Casas, the destruction was so bad and the blasphemy so clear that he prayed that "God not destroy (Castile) for the great sins committed against its faith and honor." Words like genocide[24] seem insufficient to convey this horror.

[23] Today, there is a resurgence of Taino culture. After centuries of being declared "extinguished", many descendants are reclaiming their indigenous heritage and rewriting history.

[24] According to Jeffrey Ostler, debate concerning whether the destruction of the peoples of the Americas is considered "genocide" primarily rests around the definition of "genocide," not on the terror that people experienced.

Unquestionably one of the greatest tragedies of what is usually referred to as the extermination of the Taino people is the extent to which it became a blueprint of new world labor.

The Spanish found the gold they sought. They found gold and enslaved the local people to mine it for them and destroyed the forests and began the process that would eventually pollute the rivers long before the Industrial revolution. If we count "wealth" in monetary terms, then Spain and to a lesser extent Portugal became so rich that they did not know what to do with all the wealth. By 1628, a friar named Antonio Vazquez de Espinosa estimated that the "wealth" that had left the Indies was worth 1.8 billion pesos.[lxxxvii] They spent the money on building their own army and becoming an Empire within Europe. And winning, in their own minds at least, this next variation on the crusades.

Islamophobia rests at the historical-theological core of the Doctrine of Discovery and the conquering of North and South America. The Bulls stemmed from the Crusades. Spanish legal scholars made remarkably creative arguments to claim that if indigenous resisted to the Spanish "natural law rights" then Spain could legally "protect its rights" and "defend the faith" by waging "just war" against the infidels; this the same language used during the Crusades.[lxxxviii] Many of the soldiers who fought in the Americas had previously fought against the Moors. As Pagden writes:

> the struggle against Islam offered a descriptive language which allowed the generally shabby ventures in America to be vested with a seemingly eschatological significance… in their own eyes and in the eyes of those (who read about their exploits), men like Hernan Cortes and Francisco Pizarro were simultaneously the heirs of Caesare and El Cid, the great eleventh-century hero of the Reconquista, for whose soul it was customary to dedicate a mass on first reaching the coast of America… Continuity with Reconquista implied, if not divine sanction, then divine favor.[lxxxix]

Reconquista – the re-conquering of the Promised Land – was deeply embedded in Spanish culture. That the indigenous peoples had no actual relationship with Islam was inconsequential to their fight.[xc]

Further, we would be remiss if we did not touch upon the ecological destruction that occurred simultaneously with the loss of life. Gold mines and other mining operations were often devastating to local ecosystems, a pattern that only continued as the technological capacity to destroy mountains "improved." Sugar, which became known as "white gold," destroyed local ecosystems.

Prior to sugar plantations, the diet of the islanders was far, far healthier than that of most Europeans. The Tainos practiced year-round agriculture, consistently reaping abundant crops that did not deplete the soil's nutrients or the water supply nor cause erosion. They grew a range of crops, contributing to diverse nutrition and ensuring against crop failure, including corn, sweet potato, yams, peppers, squash, peanuts, and the cassava from which they made flatbread. All of this supported a culture known for its gentleness and its elaborate religious, dance, and mythological system.

The bio-diverse eco-systems that took millennia to develop were uprooted in a few years and replaced with the thirsty, demanding sugar cane. The elaborate plantation system became, in effect, the first factory – several decades prior to the industrial revolution – with horrendous consequences to the local water systems. Intensive cane cultivation depleted the soil and water tables, initiating the ruinous process of deforestation. European cattle overgrazed some native grasses. European livestock trampled the pastureland, packing down the soil so that rainfall slid over the soil, not into it, leading to erosion. New fleas and rats from Europe preyed on native

fauna and changed the face of native agriculture; even today, rats eat up to 40 percent of the crops that farmers struggle to produce in the parched and eroded soil of Haiti.[xci] And that was before climate change intensified the hurricanes that have always been part of that island's history.

European rulers became vexed on the horrors perpetuated across the vast ocean as they learned of the atrocities. The practice of slavery within the Americas was discouraged by the Church within almost half a century after *Inter Caetera*. In 1537, Pope John II proclaimed in the Bull *Sublimues Deus* that "the Indians are truly men…notwithstanding whatever may have been or may be said to the contrary." It forbid enslavement and dispossession of property regardless of their faith.[xcii] It continued to encourage Europeans to instill the Catholic faith in Indigenous Peoples because "they desire exceedingly to receive it." This imaginary desire overlooked the ongoing violent evangelization authorized by the earlier three bulls. The practice of slavery was nearly impossible to stop. As Hernando Cortez famously said in 1519, "I came here to get rich, not to till the soil like a peasant." Free labor, regardless of how forced it is, is an expedient way to make one's fortune. So too is the blatant exploitation of natural resources, from gold to trees to fish. The transatlantic slave trade ensured that the death of the native peoples – and the thousands who died during the middle passage – was large enough to continually bring profit to the white conquerors. We can only imagine what engaging in such full-scale destruction of human and non-human life for the purpose of their own self-aggrandizement did to their souls. Indeed, given that Columbus is often given the status of a founding father of the United States

(despite never having been close to the contemporary United States)[25], we can wonder, what have we inherited?

Let us now take a moment to reflect on the lasting impact of the Bulls of Domination and the resulting triangle of terror.

3. A moment for integration

Above, I described three main bulls forming the three points on what I refer to as the triangle of terror on three continents. At each point, the violent severing of people from place shaped both the conceptual and material/embodied relationships amongst humans and between humans and non-humans. The Bull to King Alfonso V led to the terror of the displacement of Africans and their forced re-creation as part of the slave trade stemming from West Africa. The Witch Bull led to the terror of the destruction of European indigenous ceremonies, which connected people to their sacred lands, and the burning of the women's bodies separated poor Europeans from critical components of place-based knowledge. The final set of "Donation Bulls" upon Columbus' return formed the third point of the triangle: the "demolition" of the Americas which included the violent destruction of indigenous peoples and their disconnect from the land. Below, we pause to reflect on and do some deeper integration of these three moments.

These three strands of bio-cultural torture are rarely brought together. I use the phrase "bio-cultural terror" because in each place, the music, songs, dances, drumming, and earth-based ceremonies were destroyed, as well as the knowledge of a particular way of living with the land. While the Spanish, of necessity, learned something about the place they landed from the original

[25] Steven Newcomb makes this point by drawing our attention to the heart of the nation's capital, the Rotunda. There, one can find the seventeen- foot-tall, twenty-thousand pounds Columbus Doors, facing east, depict Columbus ceremoniously "taking possession" of the first Taino Island.

caretakers of that land, they so discarded the indigenous population that much valuable bio-cultural knowledge was lost. The slave trade similarly severed people of African descent from their lands – from the cultures, rituals, music, and generations of knowledge embedded in them. As I argued above, the same happened in Europe. Thus, the alienation between "man" and nature was wrought and played out on dark-skinned and feminine human bodies two centuries prior to the Enlightenment. In stating this, it should be clear that my indigenous colleagues were correct: The Doctrine of Discovery forms a powerful origin point for climate change.

A Violent dis-membering

This is a story of violence. There is an eerie resemblance in the violence between the torture-filled witch-hunts raging in Northern Europe, the torture-filled transatlantic slave trade stemming from Africa and the brutal torture of the peoples in the Americas. In 1521, Spain, led by Cortez, finished its 2-year endeavor to conquer the Aztec Empire. In the same year, in Italy, 1,000 witches were burned. In 1522, the first major slave rebellion broke out on the island of Hispaniola.

In all three cases, the people burned were deemed alternatively, evil, feminine and sub-human. Their ways of relating to the earth – their orientations, epistemologies and ontologies – were alternatively ignored, scorned, ridiculed and deemed inferior to what became known as the "Western", "European", or "Christian" orientation. This was not just a process of "colonization" that occurred outside of Europe – it was something that was happening *simultaneously* within Europe – and, as Federici demonstrates, each of them reinforced the other. Each point on the triangle was sanctified by a papal bull and enforced by representatives of the Christian faith: each was clothed in language of sanctity, religiosity, and theodicy, especially of ridding the world of

the devil and satanic practices (the supposed sexual exploits of women or the "demonic" religious practices of indigenous peoples).

Images powerfully convey the connections between this "triangle of terror." In embedding these striking images of human brutality in this thesis, I hope to not only make an intellectual point, but to acknowledge their pain and honor their suffering, and further commit myself and further invite my reader into the ongoing healing necessary from the legacy of their cries.

I invite my reader to take a deep breath before, during and after seeing these images.

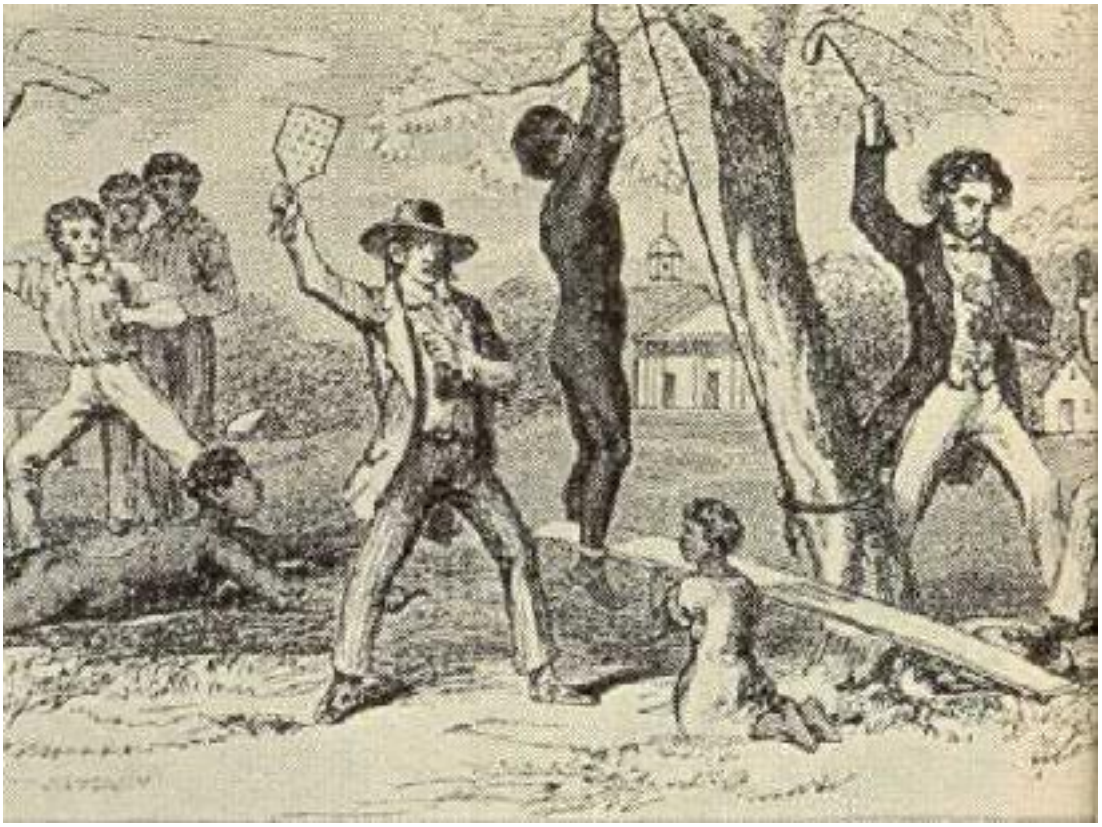

Image 1: Slaves being tortured/punished in the Americas by white settlers, regardless of their Christianity *Source: https://bigbluehistory2.wikispaces.com/A+Debate+Against+Slavery*

Image 2: Witches being burned in Europe for being "devil worshipers." Woodcut. original caption: "Burning at the stake. An illustration from a mid 19th century book." https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Witch_Burning.jpg

Image 3. Indigenous peoples being burned and tortured by conquistadores and their priests.

These images similarly depict people being strung up and tortured/burned in public within a few decades of one another by a similar group of white, European male abusers either representing or sanctioned by the Church. Other images could include the hooked, metal instruments used in torture, the clasps and cuffs similarly used to bind people, the frequent displays of nudity, the many priests who sanctioned the abuse and attempted various forms of exorcism, the abundance of crosses at the sites of torture, the sexualized aspect of the violence, the rape of women, and the wide array of human agony on display in public places (town squares, church yards, trees along roadsides). In the Americas, the violence against indigenous women and children continue, as does the forced imprisonment of uncharged or victimized descendants

of slaves (or others who look like them). These images could also be displayed next to images of domesticated animals in cages lined up for slaughter, which would reveal the extent to which women and dark-skinned bodies are treated like domesticated animals, and domesticated animals are abused without concern for their well-being.[26] It was a time of deep trauma.

While there are many interpretations of violence, let us lift up this one: that the fact that this change, this separation of people from place, required such a high level of violence reflects how deeply tied people were to their place. It was not easy, to remake the world along the veins of white supremacy and to force upon the various subjugated peoples a theology of displacement. It did not happen overnight because it could not happen overnight. Repeated generations suffered – and even after all of that suffering, indigenous peoples, black peoples and women the world over kept finding ways, sometimes subtle, sometimes revolutionary, to rise up. In the resistance we may find hope. In the sheer quantity of violence, we may find a tear drenched testimony to humanity's connection to land, love, and liberty.

Conception of "wealth" and the solidification of separation between means and ends

I am not here attempting to create a "history of wealth/money/capital." However, in considering this time period, we would be remiss without commenting on its importance in solidifying what is now considered the prevailing *ethics* of wealth creation: namely, that ends and means do not need to be connected. In other words, if your end product makes you rich, be that sugar produced by slave labor and ecological degradation, or pharmaceuticals produced by

[26] Carol Adams has effectively used images of domesticated animals and women to demonstrate the similar ways that society objectifies and "consumes" both in ways that illuminate the dignity of both humans and non-humans. She, along with other eco-feminists, started making active connections between the abuse of domesticated animals and women shortly after she edited the path-breaking book, *Ecofeminism and the Sacred*, which connects colonization, patriarchy and environmental destruction. Carol J. Adams and Lori Gruen, *Ecofeminism : Feminist Intersections with Other Animals and the Earth* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

traditional knowledge taken from women who were burned, then you have the right to the material profit and your position is upheld by society.

I used to professionally work in international development, in which it was considered "good" to design programs and policies to lift people out of poverty. Facts and figures about wealth disparities abounded in our discourse. Causes of poverty were commonly associated with lack of education especially amongst women; lack of access to markets, land, water, and other natural resources; poor nutrition that exasperated cycles of poverty within families and neighborhood communities; forced migration; lack of family planning; poor infrastructure; lack of clean water and sanitation; and lack of technological access or expertise. Today, these form the basis of the Sustainable Development Goals. The underlying assumption of such discourses is that the developing world is supposed to "catch up" to the developed world.

Rarely did the "root causes of poverty" conversations take on a historical perspective beyond a "developing" country's independence from their colonial power. Indeed, the histories of colonization were conspicuously absent, despite that, for example, the physical shape of most African nations is a *direct* result of their colonizer. At the risk of overseimplication, Africa is "poor" in part because much of its wealth in the forms of both people and natural resources were stolen, their economies controlled and/or stagnated, and the people consistently told that they were "less than" other countries. Perhaps even more accurate, Europe became "rich" because of its ability to exploit other countries. How long did it take for "poverty" to be blamed on the people who were "poor", instead of recognizing that they were victims of a larger system of extraction? International development tends to work from a sense of charity instead of justice and retribution. Developing countries are often considered to be "in debt" to rich countries. Is it not

better framed the other way around: rich countries are in effect "in debt" to so-called poor countries? To ignore such global dynamics when engaging with climate change is to ignore root causes in the power differentials that shape international discourse, especially at the UNCOP, today. Further, it perpetuates notions of "wealth" that need to change. As has been said countless times, is utterly impossible for every country and for most of the world to have the same ecological footprint as the average American. Yet people's association of the "good life" with unsustainability risks continuing if we do not see these other connections.

Certain notions of wealth which had been a part of European culture and most likely in different human societies for a long time became solidified as a result of the Doctrine of Discovery. Wealth was narrowly defined and increasingly globally accepted to mean material opulence and, to an extent, in terms of a person's capacity for domination of other human beings, landscapes, and plants and animals. The means through which one accomplished the acquisition of material wealth was considered unimportant. We cannot ignore the theological implications of this, for our definitions of wealth reflect our definitions of the "good" and what is associated with being close to the "Divine." As we continue this thesis, we shall see more about how conceptions of wealth and, in particular, property developed.

Lack of Recognition of the Triangle

These similar patterns of relationships "evil in design" are rarely recognized for several reasons. Perhaps most obvious is that the Witch Bull is clearly quite separate from the other two sets of Bulls, which together have come to be known as the beginnings of the Doctrine of Discovery. The Witch Bull, after all, did not overtly refer to any kind of principle of discovery and was not about foreign lands. Indeed, in drawing this triangle, we must be careful to acknowledge that the

similarities between the displacement of people and place and the creation of race that resulted from the lack of place-as-identifier has similarities which the witch-hunts simply do not reflect. Nevertheless, the witch-hunts played a critical role in shaping the disembodied, disenchanted theological relationship between the female mind-body and the earth's body. Surely this violence was not only sexist, but thwarted the authentic human drive for intimacy.

First, the lack of this recognition of their similarities serves the dominant "powers and principalities" in maintaining a colonial structure that serves an elite majority of people. This is partially an effect of what Patrick Wolfe describes as the "organizing grammar of race" employed by the colonial settlers, in which "different racial regimes encode and reproduce the unequal relationships into which Europeans coerced the populations concerned... Indians and Black people in the U.S. have been racialized in opposing ways that reflect their antithetical roles in the formation of U.S. society." An increase in the populations of black people augmented their owners' wealth. Decreasing Indigenous populations eased open indigenous land to the setters.

Another reason is that each "point" on the triangle spawned its own lineage of scholars, communities and activists; each community traces a different genealogy. The transatlantic slave trade shipped approximately 12 million slaves between the 14th and 18th centuries across the highly dangerous "middle passage" on board boats with such names as "Mary," and "Charity." One strand of Christianity helped to start the slave trade; another strand initiated international abolition movements, black freedom movements, and the long civil rights movement. The witch-

hunts are a core moment for feminists but are rarely associated with colonization.[27] The memory of the Doctrine of Discovery and the destruction of the indigenous peoples in the Americas is most clearly remembered in the Americas, and is currently a critical part of the rising native American/Indian movement in the USA and Canada. But is too-rarely linked with the social movements around race amongst the global African diaspora.[28]

Disconnect also stems from the racism and cultural appropriation that white women, in particular, continue to perpetuate. My European grandmothers who came to America materially benefited from the violence enacted on the pre-existing socio-ecology and from forced labor. Even as I include the witch-hunts in the triangle of terror, I am aware that when the female descendants of the witches and their accusers came to the Americas, they rarely if ever brought with them a sense of commonality for their fellow sisters of the earth. Instead, they brought fear, even terror, of speaking out on behalf of their fellow women. Perhaps they were still reeling from the trauma of being burned at the stake. Perhaps they were also hungry for land and what they probably saw as their best hope for a somewhat comfortable future. A critical and notable exception to this history was during the women's movement, when Matilda Joslyn Gage and other suffragists found inspiration and commonality from the Haudenosaunee women, as beautifully demonstrated by Sally Roesch Wagner's writings and teachings.[xciii]

[27] Notable exceptions include Carol Adams, Mies & Shiva, and Starhawk. In the past year, more indigenous and white women in the United States have been making these connections; Navajo Lyla June Johnson has written a song about her European indigenous grandmothers

[28] This is evidenced by patterns of organizing. Rarely is the African diaspora involved in the organizing.

Finally: there is the question of semantics. Each of these long events has its own body of research. For example, "indigenous women" are rarely equated with European "witches" or "African slaves," although one could use the word "indigenous" to describe (many if not most) of the European women burned as witches and many if not most of the African women forced into slavery.

Of course, there are also many untold stories of their interconnections. We are all part of the same human-earth family, and that connection is lived in the genes and sometimes in the memories of the millions of people who have mixed African, indigenous and/or European ancestry.

Further implications: Place, Race and dis-enchantment

Harder to see in the images above is the extent to which the violence perpetuated against each of these groups of people was integral to the shifts in socio-ecological dynamics – what Bilgrami referred to as the shift from "nature to natural resources" and the epistemological frameworks that alienated people from the land and the waters of life that sustained them. In addition to the cultural and ceremonial loss mentioned above, we must also recall that each of these people had a close relationship to the particularities of their place.

In both African and American indigenous peoples, their relationship to land was central to their stories, spirituality, culture, politics, livelihoods and identity.[xciv] For slaves, the forced production of predominantly non-subsistence agriculture (cotton, tobacco and sugar) did not enable them to care for their families in a healthy manner; men and women experienced this forced labor differently. Forced agricultural labor is an abomination of what it means to "till and keep" (in Hebrew, to serve) the earth as commanded in Genesis. These slaves experienced an

alienation from their labor and their homeland long before Marx charted the alienation between man and his work caused by the industrial revolution.[xcv] In addition to ignoring whatever bio-cultural knowledge and customs of the indigenous peoples that were not immediately useful (such as learning how to grow corn, squash, sugar and tobacco), within the settler's framework, the peoples of the Americas were forcibly removed from their original homelands and their sacred sites. The procurement of "goods" that profited the European elite were, actually, the tearing from the land of vast quantities of non-human beings (trees, fish) without replacing (i.e. reforesting) the landscape; it was an ongoing act of "rape and pillage" of the continent herself without even the slightest consideration of the impact on non-human beings. Extreme racism[29] propped up the cultural superiority necessary for exploitation of land and people alike. Thus, long before the industrial revolution, Europeans treated the land and waters of Africa and the Americas as disenchanted. In doing so, they lost their own relationship to their own sacred land and to the depth of relationship between identity and place.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, disenchantment and displacement went together. As Jennings argues, the Age of Discovery and conquest:

> began a process of transformation of land and identity. And while worlds were being transformed, not every world was changed in the same way. Peoples different in geography, in life, in different worlds of European designation – Africa, the Americas, Europe – will lose the earth only to find it again in a strange new way. The deepest theological distorting taking place is that the earth, the ground, spaces and places are being removed as living organizers of identity and as facilitators of identity…. The central effect of the loss of the earth as an identity signifier was that native identities, tribal communal and spatial, were constricted to simply their bodies, leaving behind the very ground that enables and facilitates the articulation of identity.... this is the troubled existence humans have entered upon without realizing their loss. This occurrence cannot be easily discerned because it is deeply embedded in the loss of knowledge itself.[xcvi] (43)

[29] Young argues that racism overseas replaced European structures of classism at home

Of course, as Jennings continues to argue, "Christian faith and theology carry within them the possibilities of knowing and re-narrating identity with geography…. But these were possibilities of self-articulation never to be fully realized, never to be truly explored. Instead the new worlds were transformed into land – raw, untamed land." While Jennings does not relate this to the witch-hunts, we can note that the Christian European capacity certainly held within it a relationship that bound identity to geography and that the witch-hunts, amongst other happenings, contributed to the damage of that relationship within Europe. The bio-culture was separated: land and people were no longer seen as bound in the identity of either one. It is hard to over-emphasize the loss that this moment symbolized.

As time and space are inherently related, the disconnect of identity and space has a temporal as well as a spatial dimension. As argued by both Native theologians, such as George Tinker and Vine Deloria, point to the Christian focus on time over space.

Jennings builds upon Fabian's argument that anthropologists and other Western intellectuals interpret native peoples through a hermeneutic that relies upon the "spatialization of time." In spatialized time, the vast distance between cultures (especially European vs non-European) was given a temporal dimension: "primitive" versus "modern," even though both cultures were of equal age. The European then becomes concerned not only with encountering a different space – which he then re-creates in a way that suits his own material benefit – but sees his role in regard to the other as one that brings the "primitive" into the "modern." This temporal focus on "progress" as a form of relationship with the other has showed up in mission work, colonization, and international development. The two-thirds world has been trying to "catch up" with the West, a laughable concept given that their own wealth was often stolen from

the Western "superpowers" with minimal if any compensation, a point that is blatantly absent from contemporary discourse. Temporal distancing also led to difficulties in cross-cultural communication, including intimacy. After all, if the colonizer saw himself as being temporally "ahead" of the African or Latin American person, real communication would be challenging. As Fabian argues, without a shared sense of space or time, even when two people stood next to one another for the same duration of time, communication, unsurprisingly, suffered. After all, as Fabian argues, "communications is ultimately about creating shared Time." Surely, in this context, any attempt at intimacy would be difficult to achieve when the conceptualized distance between two people was infused with temporal distance.

Fabian's observation also points to part of why this work of ReMembering is so important. We need to create shared time *and* shared space. We need to move out of the disenchantment of the clockwork universe and into an appropriately enchanted world – not one with such grave temporal separations.

When considering the relationship between the witch-hunts and Africa and the Americas, the role of temporal distance played a significantly lesser role. Rhetoric that the witches were "backwards" was not common. However, Francis Bacon *did* emphasize the new science as a form of rebirth without indebtedness to women and that the ability to conquer nature (Descartes would say that Mother Nature was dead) was a sure sign of progress does imply a transition of both time and space, albeit possibly less extreme than in other parts of the world.

This history should validate and call for strengthening the connections between anti-colonial, anti-sexist, anti-racist and environmental work; it should not excuse any group from doing its own internal work or to recognize how they might have benefited from the forced

suffering of the other. Nor is this a "blame game." Africans in Africa helped with the slave trade; in the Americas indigenous peoples supported and personally benefited from the fur trade; and in Europe, women betrayed women without being tortured. Patterns of evil relationships can be found in any human community. Nevertheless, hopefully this gives us a richer understanding of the relationship between race, gender and place, and the formation of contemporary identities. Revealing this history presents the opportunity to connect genealogies frequently left disconnected. The hateful racism/xenophobia/sexism that we currently see spewing from pulpits of power is hardly new in American history.

Re-Membering and Ritual

This work is too short to adequately go into the real and potential role of ritual and mysticism in supporting the process of re-narration, (re)membering and turning towards processes that appropriately use the immensity of our imagination and our capacity to create. However, a few comments here on both ritual and mysticism are necessary, as both are essential to ReMembering.

The need to discuss ritual here arises not only because of the extent to which the triangle of terror was expressed via public rituals that enacted a twisted version of an Empire-based Christianity, with religious authority figures enabling, blessing, sanctifying and physically engaging in the violent separation of people and place. Ritualizing, as Tom Drivers reminds us, is older than human beings: it is a something that both humans and animals share and enacts a form of communication that takes us beyond our human selves. Rituals not only store and repeat the known, but also "extend the frontier." Ritual play "provides a foundation for culture… a vital component in processes of social change." Ritual enables us to learn through doing. Non-

linguistic forms of communication, as rituals often are, enables new webs of meaning to emerge, for they call for something "outside, something before, alongside, or yet-to-be, that can summon language to be language, can tell us that it makes sense to play and explore without yet knowing what we have in mind or whether we mean anything at all."[xcvii] To (re)member and to create the new we need to go beyond what we have all, white or native or black, have all, with various degrees of consciousness and engagement that we have grown up with: the pain of colonization and the despair of the rising destruction of our common home. Creative rituals may well be amongst the best ways of playing towards a common life.

Perhaps even more important than the theory of ritual is that ritual is currently proving to be a powerful resource for (re)membering what has been torn asunder and for bringing new life to the results of a "diseased Christian imagination." In her book on "endarkened feminisms," Cynthia Dillard, who identifies as an "African ascendant," notes that given the fragmentation, dislocation, and dismemberment caused by slavery and the colonization of Africa, makes the trauma of the Middle Passage a critical memory for many in Africa and the diaspora. She suggests that "these are memories that acknowledge an ever present thread between the diaspora and the continent, a heritage, a 'homeplace.'"[xcviii] Like Jennings, she focuses on the importance of recognizing abused intimacy. For Dillard, (these) "intimate memories" make one "ache with desire" for the "marriage of meaning and matter in our daily lives."

Dillard argues that re-vitalizing rituals, both (re)membering old ones and creating new ones, is an essential "thread for (re)membering within the African community…. (for it) keeps the whole community of the living and the dead united and keeps all the forces of life in harmony for another season." Gebara, working from the context of Latin America, similarly aims to revitalize

rituals to re-bind women to the land, to one another, and to their ancestors who were so impacted by colonization. Similarly, Starhawk argues that it will be "impossible" for white people (especially women) in the United States to understand and fully engage in these concerns until they fully engage with - (re)member – the witch-hunts. Starhawk wrote, when visiting Standing Rock, that "for people of European heritage, it is vital to know that we also have indigenous roots, have ancestors who knew that water is sacred, and traditions we can connect to that can help us anchor in the land."[xcix] In short, contemporary descendants from all three points of the triangle are aiming to (re)member themselves into their origin points, diversely understood and often with great help from the imagination, and to revitalize the bio-cultural (ritual, music, dance) that was severed during the triangle of bio-cultural terror.

(Re)membering, ReEnchanting and the Mystical Experience

Rituals and mystical experiences blur together; in the context of the former the later can and often does occur. The mystical experiences of oneness, the spiritual connections with our ancestors, and the pulsing creative force in all beings are real and reliable sources of knowledge, guidance and creative power. Navajo/Irish indigenous activist Lyla June Johnson wrote about a mystical experience of reconnecting with her European ancestors while sitting in the ceremonial house of her mother's Navajo people, which closely relates to our discussion:

> a wondrous revelation landed delicately inside of my soul. It sang within me a song I can still hear today. This song was woven from the voices of my European grandmothers and grandfathers. Their songs were made of love. They sang to me of their life before the witch trials and before the crusades. They spoke to me of a time before serfdoms and before Roman tithes. They spoke to me of a time before the plague; before the Medici; before the guillotine; a time before their people were extinguished or enslaved by dark forces. They spoke to me of a time before the English language existed. A time most of us have forgotten. These grandmothers and grandfathers set the ancient medicine of Welsh blue stone upon my aching heart.[c]

In the midst of a ritual from her Navajo lineage, her father's Irish/European ancestors offered a message "delicately inside of my soul." She did not have to turn against her European/white ancestors in order to embrace her indigenous self. Further, this ability came from a deeply mystical experience.

I had a similar experience: indeed, it was one of many critical moments in the development of this work. After co-leading Union's Earth Day ritual in April 22, 2016, I was in what I thought would be a regular Ecofeminism class led by Professor Chung. The student presenter that day showed a video enacting a reading from *Malleus Malifracum.* I was sitting besides my friend M.S., a self-identifying black woman with Native American heritage, when the following spiritual/mystical experience occurred:

> I felt I had seen the film before. Suddenly, I felt a line of women behind me. I could almost see them. I knew they were my European grandmothers. I felt overwhelming sorrow/grief/pain/loss and laid my head on the table; I was suddenly nauseous. I heard the women's mournful cry: we didn't want it to happen. Not only the witch hunts, but the loss of black women's children and the loss of the bio-culture in the Americas. Yes, they were there. Yes, they were tortured and burned. But their upset was about what happened after they had gone. M.S. asked if I wanted to step out of the room. Just a few weeks ago I had taken her out of class when something had triggered her. On the church pew outside, she held my hand, hard. One of the speakers came out, and kneeled before me. She held my other hand. She looked into my eyes. Her eyes were blue, like mine. They pulled me. She thanked me for feeling. She thanked me for acknowledging the pain of the past, for being open and vulnerable. Her eyes kept pulling me. I felt they were pulling me through a small hole within a wall inside of myself that had been built from before I was born. Suddenly, finally, the wall broke. I began to cry. M.S. started to laugh, as if she was happy for me. As if I had just entered a world into which she had longed for me to come. I cried for the rest of class. I hate crying in public, but this was different.

That was the first day I asked the question, was there a Bull related to the witch-hunts? Was it remotely in the same time period as the other two Bulls? I thus discovered the "Witch Bull," and could develop the notion of the "triangle of terror." For me, then, the ability to intertwine these

three areas came as a spiritual gift. My own journey of seeking was a critical component, and I don't think I would have seen it had I not been asking questions about the Doctrine of Discovery, but this particular piece of the thread was more of a gift than simple "work". Like so many spiritual and creative gifts, it must be passed on. In writing and sharing these ways of (re)membering our past, I partake in passing along the gift.[30] Knowing the difference between "owning" and being "gifted" something is, for myself and my generation, a spiritual distinction that it seems as if those Popes, monarchs, explorers, and my ancestors who produced and reproduced those papal bulls did not seem to have.

We are now ready to continue our story. As I do so, I more concretely discuss my own ancestors, whose journey I have questioned, challenged, and finally, for myself, found beautiful possibilities of redemption. When my ancestor Henry Wolcott came to America in 1630, he and his fellow settlers saw themselves as part of the process of "discovery" of the "promised land." Sometimes, when I imagine them coming to what they believed was God's chosen land for them, I wonder if they saw the great pillar of smoke from the Indian villages and wondered if that might have been G-d talking to them through the sacred fires of the people who lived here. I have seen no such evidence that this is the case. For those who called this land the new Canaan, the original Canaanites were unimportant.[ci] Their rhetoric on Canaan was based on private property, a newly

[30] For a fascinating study on the role of gifts in non-commercial societies, see Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Creativity and the Artist in the Modern World* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009). In recent years, there has been a steady movement amongst those seeking alternative economic systems to experiment with the "gift economy." See, for example, Charles Eisenstein, *Sacred Economics: Money, Gift, and Society in the Age of Transition* (North Atlantic Books, 2011). For many, the gift economy is close to "God's Economy"; see: Ched Myers, *The Biblical Vision of Sabbath Economics* (Tell the Word, Church of the Saviour, 2001).

and distinctly English concept: "no one owned land like the English."[cii] Private property, first enclosed by hedges and later carefully detailed through the technological power of the surveyor, enabled land to be divided into commodities that could be easily filed into the English legal system, sold, and bought. Indeed, if the simplistic shape of the first chapter was a triangle, then the simplistic shape of the second chapter is a square.

III. The Middle Act: Squares of Property in Paradise

In the past chapter, we delved deeply into the 1450s-early 1500s, especially focusing on Catholic Europe and Spain. Sometimes, people mistakenly think that this is a "Catholic" problem. This is unfortunate and inaccurate. In this chapter, we look at the founding of the United States, which requires us to deepen into English history, including the English theological and ecological-political cosmo-vision that as emerging at that time and which significantly shifted land use, access, management, and the theological perspective of the land-human-Divine relationship the world over. As I shall show, the theology here not only influenced land, conceptualized (especially at first) as paradise, but also, inherently, social relationships and theologies of the mind.

In the previous chapter, I used the image of the triangle, as in, the triangle of terror that emerged in a particular moment. Here, the image of a square or a cube is more appropriate. The first dynamic is the base of the square: how private property as a set of socio-ecological relationships emerged in England. The second, and the most complex, is what happened when that socio-ecological relationship of private property encountered a radically different set of socio-ecological relationships in the "other" of the indigenous peoples of "New England." These are the walls of the cube. The third dimension is how private property and "discovery" shaped intellectual property rights: this is the top side of the cube. The British, like the Spanish before

them, very much saw themselves as carrying on the Holy Roman Empire. As we enter this discussion, we must remember that private property results from relationships between the land, the owner of the land, and the society that validates that owner's claim. If society did not validate that claim, it would cease to exist. We must also remember that the relationship between people and place, including land and water, has, for any with a spiritual inclination, a theological or spiritual component.

1.The base of the Square: Private Property and Enclosing the English Commons

As the Spanish and Portuguese were exploring overseas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the English were in the midst of one of the greatest shifts in land and theology in their history, one that significantly influenced the rest of the world.

The Catholic Church offered a counterbalance to the powers of national monarchs. In England, monastic orders occupied, owned and governed by the Church, offered nearly one quarter of the land. Despite widespread corruption, monastic orders were not governed by secular concerns such as speculative profit. Instead they "enacted a religious imperative to support the locality and practice charity;"[ciii] they consistently offered social and educational services not offered by the government or, necessarily, by the local nobility.

After Henry VIII broke from the Roman Catholic Church in 1535, he brought the land held by the Church under his own crown. This massive redistribution of one quarter of the nation's wealth was at the expense of the peasantry. The social and educational functions of the monasteries were curbed if not completely ended; the crown became significantly wealthier; and a handful of nobles gained more land, effecting a significant concentration of wealth and centralization of power. Combined with forced expropriation of free peasant proprietors by feudal lords, land

ceased to be commonly owned and became increasingly privatized. The commons, or "waste," as was mentioned earlier, was divided into plots that were fenced (or hedged) in which to keep sheep. Sheep's wool was increasingly profitable on the international wool market, thanks, in part, to a growing European population and a growing overseas market due to colonization.[civ] When enclosed, sheep manure became concentrated, giving higher yields of grass. "Manure," "improvement" and "progress" became synonymous in England (and even more so in Holland) during the fifteenth century. The ruling class used their increased wealth – what Marx would subsequently call "primitive accumulation" - enabled financial speculation abroad. As political scientist Pabst writes, "the perennial sanctity of life and land was subordinated to secular sacrality of the national state and the transnational market. Thus, capitalism was born."

The enclosure movement broke the tight bonds between lord and tenant, in which "the lord was deeply subject to written and unwritten constraints in his behavior towards his tenants."[cv] By 1500, a century before England formed "New England," 61 villages were destroyed in England due to land enclosures. During the next century, aggressive land-use policies, including increased felling of trees -to replace coal[31] and for ship-building—significantly depleted the forests and negatively impacted the quality of human health. Ecological justice—the common degradation of the environment and poor people's health—has a long history.

[31] In 1578, two centuries before the industrial revolution, Elizabeth I requested Londoners to stop using the highly polluting soft sea coal; the alternative for coal, wood, was so expensive due to the degradation of the forests had been so destroyed, that Londoners could not afford to do so.

Dispossessed of their homes in favor of sheep, vagrants became more common. The propertied classes viewed their former tenants as a "menace."[cvi] Scarcity gained a new dimension for the English newly made poor: the loss of land, community, and their sense of self.[32]

Protestantism also brought a validation of individual conscience that was sought by the increasingly propertied class. King Henry might well have found aggravating that the faith that sanctioned his individual actions also prompted his subjects to locate authority outside of the supposedly divinely appointed monarch. According to Linklater, by the end of the century, English freedom was seen to be "a privilege of property." This is a particularly important point as we move across the ocean to what we now refer to as America. At the time, newly landless people would have recognized property ownership as a pathway out of the enslaving conditions of poverty. While the English transition to Protestantism and the subsequent shifts in land ownership that accompanied this religious change was not a simple one, it was mostly solidified by 1559 with the Elizabethan Settlement, which settled some of the religious turmoil between Catholics and protestants.

My ancestors might well have been amongst those who benefited from these shifts. At some point during this time period, the Wolcott family moved from their ancestral homeland in Shropshire, on the border of Wales, to Tolland, Somerset, in southern England. They participated in the wool trade and were active in the local (protestant) Church.[cvii]

As the English settled enough of their own internal turmoil's and increased their advancements in shipbuilding, they embarked on their own process of "discovery." In doing so,

[3232] It is clear the monarchy was concerned and frequently issued prayers to be read in church to discourage the Lords from depriving their tenants and villages from needed subsistence; it is unclear if the King felt he could effect change.

they "utilized international law to claim the rights and powers of first discovery and title in North America."[cviii] English scholars developed the theory that the English would not violate the papal bulls, which "gave" the Americas to the Spanish, if explorers "restrained themselves to only finding and claiming lands not yet discovered by any other Christian prince." Under Queen Elizabeth I, this was refined to include the "crucial elements of creating a complete title in those lands for the discovering country."[cix] As Miller and Ruru note, the English were "strong advocates" for the Doctrine of Discovery. Their "protest" against the Catholic Church in no way included a protest against the cultural supremacy and ability for global domination embedded in the Doctrine's ethos.

The English, like the other European countries, sought to follow in the footsteps of the Roman Empire and to "imitate the Spanish"[cx] in their quest for "gold, glory and god." As late as 1630, enthusiastic Englishmen were assuring potential settlers in Virginia that there were "undoubtably," precious minerals to be found in the region. Even protestant England followed the Donation Bull's supposed moral authority as stemming from Christianization; for example, Richard Hakluyt claimed in *A Discourse on Western Planting* in 1584 that, "Now the Kings and Queens of England have the name of Defenders of the Faith."[cxi]

The newly formed entity of the corporation followed a similar path. We often forget—certainly it was not emphasized in my high school history books—the extent to which corporations formed a key role in early protestant America. The Spanish conquistadores did not bring with them the corporation: that arrived on Turtle Island with the English and the Dutch. Corporations echoed the morals of their time. We see this well in the charter of the Virginia Company, one of the earliest companies, in 1609:

> (our purpose is in) propagating of Christian religion to such peoples who yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in these parts to humane civility and to a settled and quiet government.[cxii]

From the beginning, corporations echoed and relied upon the same religious and cultural supremacy as did both the Catholic and Protestant monarchs. They saw as part of we might now refer to as their "social responsibility" to serve God.

Only after it became clear that Spain and, to a lesser extent, Portugal, had found the main repository of gold did the other European countries adopt a condescending attitude towards Spain's conquistadors, chiding the country for its vicious violence against the Native peoples, its greedy ways and the "corrupting" influence of gold.[cxiii] As other European powers began to claim indigenous land as their own, they each enacted different "ceremonies of possession"[cxiv] emerging from their distinct culture and history; each relied upon the basic principles of the papal bulls which saw European Christianity (Catholic or Protestant) as favored by God (supplanting Israel).

Yet even from the beginning, the English combined "discovery" with their own particular socio-ecological and theological relationship to property – and to their interpretations of the Biblical stories of the Promised Land. The foundation of the "square" of private property, as I am illustrating here, was reflected in the English's own "ceremonies of possession" on Turtle Island. These entailed building a house ("improving" the land) and planting a garden upon first landing. No other European country did that.[cxv] For the English, simply seeing the land and planting a flag (as did the Spanish) were not valid signs of "discovery": one had to "improve" the land, a sentiment which, for them, harkened back to Genesis 1:28, as mentioned above. Locke articulated this common sentiment well: "God and his reason commanded (man) to subdue the

earth… he that in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled, and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property."[cxvi] Building houses and planting gardens established rights to property and thus sovereignty. European countries argued amongst themselves as to what symbolic acts counted as appropriate possession of this new land. These arguments overwhelmingly gave no considerations to those who had stewarded it for generations. The assumption of their version of Christian supremacy and themselves as having the right –even, in their mind, the responsibility – to re-create the world in *their* image as if they were God courses deeply throughout this moment of arrogance: we continue to experience these currents.

The Promised Land

As the above section alluded, we cannot talk about the Doctrine of Discovery, ecotheology, pilgrims and the relationship with land without looking at the Judeo-Christian motif of the Promised Land, which continues to play such a key role in the American and even global imagination. The Pilgrims explicitly conceptualized America as the Promised Land. Recall that in the Old Testament, part of God's covenant with his people, who were the "chosen people," he gave them their own land where they would be safe.

Steve Newcomb has done particularly adept work to demonstrate the extent to which that promise included the assumption that whomever was already living in the promised land – the indigenous peoples of that land – would suffer the consequences. He points out that the indigenous people of Canaan are considered "the inherited property" of the chosen people in both Genesis and Psalms 2:8, wherein the Lord offers to the Hebrew King David "the heathen for

thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." As Newcomb says, the promise is not just of land but of ownership/control over the people who lived there. He continues to draw out the use of the seed metaphor – as has often been noted the terms cultivate and colonized are both derived from the Latin term *colere* – in which "planting 'seed' can also be interpreted in terms of human propagation and planting colonists in a new land for purposes of colonization."

Newcomb powerfully argues that:

> Christian monarchs globalized the Old Testament covenant tradition during the Age of Discovery (and) borrowed Old Testament instructions for how to take possession of "promised" heathen and pagan lands… Yahweh commands the Hebrew soldiers to apply cold-blooded and, from a contemporary viewpoint, genocidal behavior toward the indigenous peoples living in the lands that Yahweh promised the Hebrews. (47)

Christian monarchs unquestionably wielded these texts as "texts of terror," justifying their global domination. The English, including my ancestors, would have read the Old Testament stories carefully, and entered the Americas with mindset that part of what God meant by the "promised land" was not only a place where they themselves could live free from the English monarchy, but where they would be naturally superior to whomever they met. Jennings refers to this as part of a deep theological mistake of substitutionsim: Christians are late comers to this story: as such, he argues, they should act with an open heart and brotherhood towards non-Christians. Nevertheless, they were convinced that they were the chosen people and as such had a divine right over everything. Beyond a doubt this cosmovision made it nearly impossible for them to consider a more equal relationship with the people who helped them survive in a land they were woefully unprepared for.

2.Dividing walls between the self and the other

My ancestor, Henry Wolcott, first traveled to "New England" in 1628, eight years after the famed 1620 Mayflower landing on Plymouth Rock. He subsequently returned to England, brought his wife, Elizabeth, and sailed west again with 140 other passengers aboard the *Mary and John* to Natasket, Suffolk, Massachusetts in 1630. Nearly all of the 140 passengers aboard the ship were recruited by the Puritan preacher, Reverend John White of Dorchester, Dorset; together they founded Dorchester, MA. Their self-reflexive action of naming their new town after the same one that Reverend White came from is not only a replication of the old world in the "New World," or a desire for the familiar; it also expressed a profound limitation in their own imagination. The settlers were regularly engaging with the rich cultures of the people of New England, including the Lenape peoples. But what meaning was developed in this encounter?

As Henry Wolcott entered what was, for him, a new world, he encountered peoples who had a radically different view of themselves and the land, the land they lived in, than did he. It was as if his own imagination concerning the possible myriad of relationships between people and place had a wall around it. The new relationships between people and place expressed in the north east corner of Turtle Island was on the other side of the wall of his imagination. Even before he and his companions built physical fences, his imagination, and thus his subsequent actions, was boxed in. Most likely, although I can't know this for sure, he was unaware of the limitations of his own mind.

Some of this was unquestionably the pilgrim's interpretation of the biblical notion of Paradise.

Such theological notions from scripture integrated

One of the better contemporary guides to the differences between colonial and indigenous thoughts on land management is the ecological historian William Cronon. Cronon[cxvii] traces the core difference between Indigenous peoples and the European settlers to the two groups' vastly different notions of property and societal relationships.[33]

The indigenous socio-ecological relationships that the Wolcotts and other English settlers encountered in "New England" bound neither land nor people into property. They were far more concerned with enhancing bio-cultural diversity as a form of well-being.

From the earliest colonial accounts of their experiences, there appears a clear split between how the colonists viewed the land and how they viewed the people who lived in the land. Colonial writings to Europe gush with the riches of rivers that jump with fish and so many birds that when the birds take flight they block out the sun. They were simultaneously disparaging of the people, who had few possessions and did not try to "improve" their lands through fencing land into pastures and permanent homesteads. The writers wondered, how can the land be so rich but the people be so poor? The Indian's "misuse" of the land became one of the primary justifications for the colonizers to fulfill the Doctrine's ethos of subduing the people and taking their land by putting it into the English property system, which could then be linked to the state and the European market via taxation.

It is difficult to overstate the irony at the continued use of the word 'discovery' by the colonists around the world. Discovery (even if just in regard to one's self) implies wonderment, curiosity and the chance for new learning, especially when one has been searching for something

[33] The following section (pp 56-59) is largely taken from my first paper on this topic, first written for Professor Dr. Azaransky. Sara J. Wolcott, "Inheritance, Howard Thurman and the Doctrine of Discovery: Retelling the Origin Story of Climate Change" (unpublished manuscript, 2016).

for a long time. Many European settlers in America, especially the English, were explicitly searching for paradise: God's kingdom on Earth, a land where they could enjoy themselves, spend time with their family, and have as much food as they wanted with minimal work and no overlord. This is exactly what the Indigenous peoples had: a life of relative ease and comfort with no sovereign and no poverty (homelessness and hunger) as the Europeans knew it. However, since the destruction of the commons, as we saw above, the English would have associated "freedom" with private property. Despite the innumerable references to the "Indian" as amongst the most "free" and "brave" people the English had ever encountered, they seemed utterly unable to release their own conception that "freedom" and non-privately held property could possibly go hand in hand, even when the evidence of such a possibility was, literally, staring them in the face.

What is poverty? Can we even attempt to answer that question without asking its corollary question, What is wealth? Do either make sense outside of an overarching context of the question, what is freedom?

Cronon chronicles voluntary periods of hunger at the end of winter amongst the Indigenous peoples in the north-east (the people could have prepared more foodstuff but chose not to) but notes that these periods of starvation were shared and a predictable part of the annual food cycle. Poverty, as defined by social estrangement, intense inequality, hunger and homelessness, all of which were experienced by those vagrants forced off their homelands in England during the dissolution of the commons, was an impossibility in the indigenous Northeastern orientation because their ethical framework did not include the possibility of

conceptualizing land as private property.[34] Settlements rarely lasted more than a decade and were not passed onto future generations. Intergenerational wealth would have been far more defined in terms of social relations, stories and knowledge than material things. Their (limited) migratory patterns entailed following the best foods that their land had to offer when it had to offer it; a lifestyle that required mobility and prioritized few material possessions. Most likely, when Europeans, who could only see land in terms of its potential property value, saw the people who cared for those same lands, they were reminded of the "menace" of the "vagrants" of their own society who did not have the "security" of private property. It was nearly impossible for the English to see that their lack of "comfort" stemmed from an alternative orientation to wealth, poverty, and land all-together.

Indigenous land management practices, such as controlled burning of woodlands, while seeming outrageous to the Europeans, supported the open forests, large game, tall trees and easy hunting the Europeans so desired. But for the Europeans to admit that the Indigenous way of life enabled the natural environment that the Europeans associated with Paradise would have been to admit the Indigenous peoples had a valid ethical framework. That admission would have undermined the cultural superiority upon which continual "discovery" and spiritual and cultural domination was founded. Instead, they described the Indians as "poor," "barbarians," "uncivilized," and attacked their manner of dress, gender relationships, sexuality (especially

[34] Indeed, we must be careful not to make the common confusion of mistaking the "commons" with indigenous land-ownership. The advancement of European property systems resembled but was not the same as the loss of the commons in England, as the English commons assumed that there was land *not* in the commons: held by the Crown or the Lord. The socio-ecology Cronon describes had neither "private" land nor "common/waste" land.

those places which accepted homosexuality and transgendered peoples), and their supposed lack of religion.

Having inherited that Doctrine's ethos, the witch-hunts' disregard for (especially women's) local/"poor" people's knowledge of plants, healing abilities and earth-based ceremonies, the racial code that was fast shaping European and non-European engagement around the world, and adding the ethos of private property, the Dutch and English Christians in New England were unable to "discover" (if we dare use that word) what was actually before them: a life without poverty supported through human livelihoods that continually enhanced bio-cultural diversity of immense wealth. They had sailed into a variation of paradise, and the secret to its sustainability rested, in part, on a fundamentally different understanding of earth, property, wealth/the good life, and spirituality.

Instead, the reports from America about Indigenous life became further fodder for the growing notions of private property of the early intellectuals who shaped the subsequent Enlightenment, and with it, the notions of wealth, rationality, secularism, religion, race, time, place, and progress that continue to shape institutions, national relationships and global inequalities today.

John Locke is a good example. Capra and Mattei[cxviii] remind us that Locke's notion of wealth was pivotal to Enlightenment thought. Locke constructed his notions of wealth from, in part, his observations of the Indigenous peoples of America via his role in dealing with the correspondence and negotiations with the recalcitrant settlers of Carolina between 1668-1675. He was thus well-familiar with the writings of settlers, although he never lived in America.

Informed by the settler's correspondence, Locke opened his major corpus, *The Two Treaties of Government,* with the statement: "All the world used to be America." He argued that mankind "naturally" developed from this state of "empty wilderness" to private property, a historical statement that completely overstepped the existence of the Roman Empire and other forces that shaped European history, including private property and the divine right of Kings that had dictated European land-property-usage for generations.[cxix] He conveys the same assumption we saw on the African continent a century prior: European superiority derived in part from temporal spatiality, in which the European was more "advanced" than the indigenous peoples. Temporal distance—despite the obvious experience that the invading people (white settlers) and the local people were co-existing in the same time-space—supported the process of othering necessary for conquering.

Core to Locke's theory[35] is that for both possessors of land and for those who work on it, the social contract that enabled private property was preferable over "living in a state of nature." The Lockean ideal "consolidates and justifies the system of enclosures (that) led to the thoroughly predatory commercial attitudes toward nature and its bounty as well as to a very specific conception of governance and law to support them."[cxx] According to Locke, and most likely a core part of Henry Wolcott's eco-theology, was that what the Indians now 'lacked' but the Europeans had (and which made them superior) was the incentives of money and commerce. Because of this, they failed to improve their land "and so remained a people devoid of wealth and

[35] Locke's notion of private property stemmed from his theological anthropology. When man adds his labor to the land to "improve" it, he is creating as God created him and thus acting in the image of God. Alas, he did not consider that creating *with* the "other" on Turtle Island might have yielded an even more fruitful process. Further research is needed to tease out the creative dimensions of private property and the need for greater creativity in the face of socio-ecological crises today.

comfort."[cxxi] As Cronon is quick to point out, "What Locke failed to notice was that the Indians did not recognize themselves as poor. The endless accumulation of capital, which (Locke) saw as a natural consequence of the human love for wealth, made little sense to them. The Indians understood themselves as 'living richly.'"[cxxii]

And why not? Scarcity—especially of "natural resources"—*as it was experienced in Europe* did not exist in the Northeast. Their world was animate and alive.[36] Without private property and the capacity to capitalize from it, wealth as Europe understood it becomes difficult to accumulate. With less 'wealth,' there is also less (and perhaps even an absence of) poverty. Certainly, it leads to a drastically different interpretation of both wealth and poverty. Saying that "property leads to poverty" may be too simplistic a statement. But we can say that the Europeans missed an opportunity for discovering an alternative ethical framework and remained entrenched in an orientation that arose from European history of centuries of feudalism, the opportunity that private property offered to those lucky enough to gain it, and the terror of poverty for those people who did not have it.

It is worth noting that this is a difficult concept for most Americans, especially Americans who grew up in relatively poor conditions and made significant economic gains in their lifetime and have a lived experience of the benefits of an abundance of material wealth, to grasp. We put an extraordinarily high value on physical comfort; far higher than did, probably, either the

[36] Vandana Shiva writes beautifully about scarcity and the shift to modernity: "Scarcity, not abundance, characterizes situations where nothing is sacred but everything has a price. As meaning and identity shift from the soil to the state and from plural histories to a singular, linear history of movement from "traditional" to "modern" societies…Instead of being rooted spirituality in the soil and the earth, uprooted communities, attempt to reinsert themselves by fighting for fragmented statehood and narrow national identities." Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (Zed Books, 2014), 21.

settlers or indigenous peoples of that time. Both the European forts in New England and the wigwams of the 1600s in Massachusetts look uncomfortable to the modern eye; it is easy for us to look at them and congratulate. Further, we have stereotypes of Indigenous technology as being vastly inferior to European technology, and as a deeply technological nation, we want more of it. It is, therefore, worth recalling that when encountering the wigwams, many of the settlers of that time were significantly impressed with this style of housing, which they admitted was far superior to the common person or yeoman's standard house in Europe, for it could be warm in the winter, cool in the summer, had greater degrees of ventilation and was easier to repair.

The theology of Paradise

In addition to the socio-economic differences between England and Turtle Island, the English colonizers also came with a very particular notion of Paradise.

The result of this property system that dramatically altered the landscape as well as the monetary system, the armies that advanced it, the diseases that came with the Europeans and the claim to sovereignty upon which the United States is founded was absolutely devastating for bio-cultural diversity. Within the first century of Dutch, French and English settlers and traders' discovery of the Americas, the landscape was utterly altered. My ancestors and their fellows eagerly "supplied" "resources" for a ravenous consumptive European market centuries before

the term "consumption" became associated with ecological destruction. Their demand for wood, fur, and fish nearly extinguished the forests, the rivers and the beaver population. We might say that their "divide and consume practices" transformed landscapes (largely through depleting them) even when they didn't "own" them. The main ethical dimensions, orientations, cosmologies and socio-ecological relational behavior of the Anthropocene Age were, clearly, well established long before the industrial revolution. They were produced and reproduced in the battlefield of colonization.[37]

My ancestors and their fellow Europeans erected a wall between the two cultures; the Europeans had little if any interest in "discovering" the real socio-ecological wisdom that was at the heart of what kept the "paradise" of the new world intact. I think of these walls as the two sides of the "square of property". Perhaps one of the greatest symbolic and actual walls erected was in New Amsterdam—the name for New York in the 1660s when it was possessed by the Dutch. There, the Dutch West Indies Company had slave labor build a 6-foot high wall at the lower edge of Manahatanna (now Manhattan island) to keep out the original inhabitants of Manhattan. On the far side of the wall, trade between the Dutch, with their global reach from the Indies to Europe to America, and the Natives occurred. The wall kept the Indigenous peoples out, and the mentalities of the Dutch—and the English who traded with them—in. At the base was the slave auction. The memory of the now dismantled wall remains in the name of the street where the wall once stood: Wall Street. International trade, slavery, private property and a wall to keep the "unwanted", dark skinned people out were tied closely together; such is the origin

[37] In many respects it was a battlefield: both sides were hurt by the other. Indians did raid white settlements. They did not always treat white people well; they were not always hospitable. They were also frequently at war with one another. Over romanticization does not do any of these sides any good.

of what we now see as one of the capitals of global trade. The desire of a few powerful men in Manhattan to build actual physical walls to keep out the people who are already here is in no way a new phenomenon.

The physical walls and the physical manifestations of private property emerged from the conceptual walls that made difficult authentic exchange between the peoples; but there was another kind of mental enclosure that was also taking place in what was to become intellectual property.

3.Enclosing the Commons of the Mind: "Discovery" and Intellectual Property

I showed the enclosure of the ground and the separation of people and their worldviews from one another; in the metaphorical box that is being created at this time, these are the bottom and the sides of the box. We can now turn to what I refer to as the top of the box: the enclosure of the mind.

The creation of private property entailed enclosing land and sheep with hedges and fences. The creation of intellectual property rights (IPR) enclosed ideas, inventions and medicines with patents and copyrights. According to Linklater, "what chiefly drove the spread of British inventions was the influence of land ownership." In socio-ecological and bio-cultural relationships, the human mind is not fully separate from other beings and the land. As we shall see, IPR significantly influences our capacity to move with mutuality and dignity into the Anthropocene Age.

Alas, space in this paper does not permit the proper development of a cross-cultural theory of mind that can incorporate notions of the collective unconscious (especially via Carl Jung), indigenous research methodologies which emphasizes the relationships of place, spirits,

communal relationships and multiple temporal dimensions which all contribute to new ideas and creative works (stories, technologies, craft),[cxxiii] and integral theorists who emphasize the "noology," and the "commons of the mind,"[cxxiv] which would help us see the gross inadequacies of a theory of mind which prioritizes individual effort. To be overly simplistic, we can simply acknowledge that individuals do not think in a vacuum. Everything, including the water they drink, the land they walk upon, the spaces in which they dwelled, influences the mind, which is always embodied and inherently ecological. Modern philosophy, neuroscience and linguistics all point to the ways in which the mind is far more than the individual, and far more ecological than removed. Such recognition of the human mind fits the theological exploration of consciousness, and spaces where some of the most cutting-edge science is validating the experiences of mystics and indigenous elders the world over. For our purposes here, it is sufficient to acknowledge that the earlier ways of conceptualizing the individual mind (which still hold sway in most people's lives and certainly in our legal system) are outdated. But the legal structures that arose around them continue to influence us.

In Europe, prior to the enlightenment, innovations made within a craft guild belonged to the whole guild. The rise of intellectual property law significantly broke the guilds, which held ideas and technological innovation in common. Ideas came to be seen, Linklater suggests, as "things" that, could be "enclosed" from the commons of the collective mind and belong to the person who enclosed them. The breakdown of the guilds inevitably followed. Those willing to pay the expense of the patent fee – which largely confined the process to pre-existing elite circles – brought an exclusivity in use that could, in time, yield greater profits than could land. Linklater writes that, "Locke's thesis, that an individual established outright ownership of a parcel of

ground by improving it, came to be applied still more strongly to an invention that grew out of an individual's mental and manual labor."

By 1776, the idea of intellectual property rights was of such prominence that Adam Smith wrote that the "property one has in a book he has written or a machine he has invented, which continues by patent in this country for fourteen years, is actually a real right." In the United States Constitution, this was explicitly linked to "discovery": in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, the enumerated powers of Congress permit the legislature to secure "to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries" for a limited time "to promote the Progress of Science and useful Art." Profit from the ownership of technological innovations incentivized investments in intellectual and technological research and development.[38]

Many claim that Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) is antithetical to Traditional Knowledge Systems held by indigenous peoples.[cxxv] Indigenous peoples' aversion to IPR resonates with the historical aversion to land-based systems of private property. The same pattern of "discovery" and the creation of private property that invaded the Americas and shifted the land-management processes of the Indigenous peoples, as Cronon showed us, also influenced the life of the mind, and are similarly limiting our capacity to adapt to climate change today. Indigenous methods of knowing draw from a combination of communal relationships, the place in which they live and the spirit world, including ceremony, dances, fasts, dreams and listening to plants such as tobacco. While some of these methods of knowing may be considered "internal" as opposed to

[38] This does not follow the Judeo-Christian core teachings which can be seen as against long standing holdings of private property as "the land belongs to God."

the Western focus on "external" epistemologies, the individual in most indigenous research practices does not "own" or "have" her own ideas, insights or creative processes in the same way that her European counterpart does.[cxxvi] Instead, she is part of a collective. Such epistemologies may well have found resonances with the place-based, communal, traditional knowledge embedded and embodied in music, dance, and ritual and "spells" and other practices enacted by those women burned as "witches" in Europe, though our historical ability to make that connection accurately is not quite as strong as we might wish it to be.

Epistemologies and research methodologies are critical dimensions enabling us to live well in the Anthropocene Age. Indigenous knowledge systems are considered core to climate change adaptation.[39] Researcher Michael Davis explains:

> The IPR system is based on western notions of property that emphasize individual ownership and alienability. The property rights established by these systems are essentially managed as commercial transactions, and are not designed to protect cultural products and expressions. In some critics' views, IPRs pose a threat to Indigenous peoples' systems of informal innovation, and communal rights and responsibilities in cultural products and expressions.

"Cultural products and expressions" are often significant to climate change adaptation, enabling local knowledge, often steeped in understandings of extremes as well as normal adaptation practices, to inform adaptations to dramatic changes in weather. The process of "discovery" in IPR is assumed to be the result of an individual's labor, rather than gleaned through generations of accumulated knowledge and a complex socio-ecological network of relationships. Just as private property encloses communal land for the financial benefit of the individual, so too does IPR enclose communal knowledge for the benefit of an individual (or, often, corporations, whom

[39] Especially outside the United States; within the United States, there is less appreciation for indigenous knowledge and indigenous contribution to Climate Change. This largely reflects settler-colonial desires to pretend that indigenous peoples do not exist, thus posing no threat to state sovereignty.

are, today, legally considered to be single persons). The commons of the collective mind become threatened.[cxxvii] Traditional Knowledge is tightly bound by generations of practical and spiritual engagement with the non-human and human beings in a particular place. IPR is an inherent threat to the knowledge of the well-being of the sacred commonwealth of life, as well as to a particular group of people's adaptability and ability for intellectual protection. Further, as global markets supported by IPR have consumed vast amounts of the world's bio-diversity, some of the few bio-diverse spaces that remain in the world today are found in indigenous territories. Corporations currently eye them the way conquistadores once eyed indigenous people's gold; legal scholar Rebecca Bratspies refers to this as "the New Discovery Doctrine."[cxxviii] Supporting Traditional Knowledge is currently at the forefront of the 500+ year battle to halt the colonial distortion of land, bodies and the mind itself into demonic patterns leading to the extinction of millions of species and threatening humankind's continued existence. Traditional knowledge is core to enable adaptation and ~~to~~ viable eco-theologies and ecological ethics to guide us from, as indigenous activist Winona LaDuke says, a "society based on conquest to one steeped in survival."

Today IPR in the United States rarely recognizes indigenous knowledge. Doing so would require validating indigenous epistemologies, which differ from Western epistemologies. Even if they did, for many indigenous peoples, using the IPR system seems to almost inevitably lead to commodification, which some see as "acquiescing to the legacy of colonialism" and opening a door to misappropriation. Given the inherent connection between human culture and landscapes, we need not be surprised that the force of globalization consumes culture as if it,

along with people and places, is innate and disenchanted rather than as a "complex living organism to be shielded from exploitation."[cxxix]

A brief reflection on property with the help of Howard Thurman

I have never been to a serious environmental symposium, including an eco-theological one, that seriously discussed ridding ourselves of the institution of private property as part of a core solution to our spiritual-social-ecological crisis. We seem devoted to John Locke's central claim: governments based on property are superior to "man" living in a state of nature. We squirm at the idea of relinquishing private property as part of working towards the Beloved Community.

As mentioned earlier, Thurman deeply scorned private property. Thurman argued that most Christians are afraid of the implications that Christianity requires the believer to place "one's property at the mercy of the welfare of those who have no property rights" and demands "a willingness to renounce all personal claims to possession;" alms and charity are fully insufficient to the claims that full equality puts upon mankind. Private property, for Thurman:

> implicates the holder in networks of hidden frameworks of dominance and complicates and obfuscates people's lives. When the propertied try to maximize their wealth and then use the state to protect it the result is fascism, which, in its American variant, was built on the two pillars of racism and opposition to unions.

Today, a conversation amongst Empire-critical theologians is possible in ways that include voices, especially indigenous ones, which was difficult if not impossible during Thurman's lifetime. Most likely indigenous theologians such as Andrea White would agree with Thurman's critique of both property and land. She argues that for indigenous activists, the locus of the ecological question is: "who owns the land?"[cxxx] Of course, for us to even consider these questions, especially if do

not believe that "might makes right", we must engage America's deep socio-ecological sin of non-indigenous sovereignty.[40]

This leads us to the question few actually want to ask, much less answer: if we do not own this land, then what? Amidst all of this talk of a common home, where do we belong?

In this chapter, we have seen that private property and elements of "discovery" (not the Doctrine itself) combined to forge intellectual property—the top panel of our metaphorical "cube" that shapes the socio-ecological relationship in the beginnings of America. Because of the crucial role that Traditional Knowledge has to play in enabling local communities to adapt to climate change, legal scholars, indigenous activists and others are currently working to find a way through this immense complexity in which a local peoples' collective capacity to think and problem-solve with their environment is threatened by familiar forces of globalization, including how to bridge the communication gap between traditional knowledge and western science.[cxxxi] Those who are keen to dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery would do well to incorporate the need to somehow move beyond IPR and into a commons form of knowledge sharing that can enable us to better move into the Anthropocene Age.

IV. Interlude: Reflecting on Religion and Family; Discovery and Property

1. Quakers in Pennsylvania

Here is my non-politically correct confession: I grew up thinking that Quakers were better than other Christian traditions. We were on the cutting edge of abolition. We took a leading

[40] I include, here, African peoples, who lost their sovereignty over their bodies when they were stolen/sold into slavery and subsequently lost sovereignty over their bodies during slavery.

stance on the fight for women's suffrage. We were nice to the Indians. On all three points of the triangle of terror, Quakers were better than the "others." Sure, we were still a small, mostly white, mostly middle/upper middle class group of people, but we enacted, not just preached, the Peaceable Kingdom in our internal and external non-hierarchical processes and practices. I will never forget the day that I realized this perspective was (at least partly) wrong. Disillusionment is always difficult—and a critical part of the (re)membering process.

I was in New Mexico, attending Larry Rasmussen's *Earth Honoring Faith* workshop with a focus on indigenous voices in the summer of 2015. Indigenous theologian Randy Woodley was leading a session; we were sitting outside, on the patio. A swallow flew through the circle, we all watched with delight as it went to visit its chicks in the nest above our circle. Someone muttered that she had not noticed the nest, as it blended in perfectly with the adobe building. Woodley seized upon that moment to say, in a way that I would later learn was a "classic" indigenous teaching moment, that this is how the indigenous people learned to build their adobe homes: from watching the swallows. This, he said, is what it means to honor the earth and to learn from her teachings.

Listening to Woodley's casual comment had an earth-shaking impact on me. Had I not already been sitting I would have had to sit down. I realized with a gut-wrenching feeling that this is what my Quaker (and my family, but I never expected the Wolcotts to be particularly devoted to right-living in the way that I expected Quakers to be) ancestors never did: we never tried to build our houses to look like indigenous houses. Houses in Quaker Pennsylvania looked remarkably like houses in England. Indeed, for me to try to imagine William Penn, who was constantly in debt, living in the simple reed house favored by the Lenape of Pennsylvania is almost laughable.

The point here is not that they *should* have done differently. The point is that *they never seemed to ask the question.* I did not need further research to know that Quakers benefited from the Doctrine of Discovery and that they perpetuated the same basic pattern of property as did their fellow Europeans/white folks. Locke's claim that (European) systems of governance (especially his system of private property) was superior to "living in a state of nature" was generally assumed to be true by my Quaker ancestors.

What I didn't know, until I subsequently heard Professor Jean R. Soderland speak at a seminar hosted by and for Lenape people at New York University, was the extent to which Quaker founder George Fox and William Penn offered an image of their relationship with the Lenape people of Delaware Valley in what was to become Pennsylvania that was inaccurate.

In general, Quakers projected the notion that they brought with them to Pennsylvania values of peace and tolerance. However, what was not told is that those values were already practiced by the Lenape peoples who were already there. The Lenape, not the Quakers, brought the values of peace and tolerance to their own region and the Quakers deepened into those values once they were there. The Lenape had a deep practice of "decentralized authority, preference for peace and openness towards other cultures and religions" that they had practiced and cultivated amongst the early settlers from Norway, Sweden and England for decades prior to the arrival of the Quakers.[cxxxii] The Lenape, not the British, were the ones who controlled the parameters of settlement for peaceful co-existence amidst multiple cultures until the mid-1700s. And yet the reports from Quakers describe Lenape in almost demeaning, childish and overly romantic language. While the Lenape were actually *seen* lineages by the Quakers - which is more than can be said for some other European religious traditions which generally acted as if the indigenous

peoples did not have their own spiritual lineages – they were not seen if they were not the powerful, confident people who successfully negotiated trade, treaties and complex, multi-cultural engagements.[cxxxiii]

Let us "set the truth free": Quakers were very much European settlers and they came with the settler-colonial mentality. They were fortunate to be able to work with the Lenape people of the Delaware valley who had been practicing cross-cultural respect. Quite possibly, Quakers learned from the Lenape, and were better able to practice their own values because of living amongst the Lenape peoples.

2. Erasures in Wolcott family history

At least Quakers tell stories about their engagement with indigenous peoples in their early history. I was shocked to "discover" what has always been there: the vast erasures of indigenous peoples or black people in the stories I learned about my early family history. This is a different kind of "discovery" than the ones my ancestors made: it is a discovery of a presence where before one only experienced an absence. It took months We remember the name of the ship Henry Wolcott sailed on to the Massachusetts Bay Colony (the *William and Mary*), but not the name of the people he encountered when he arrived (the Podunk). We remember his role in establishing the First Parish Church of Dorchester (1631) and buying his first 100 acres of land, but not the fate of the people from whom he bought it. We remember his 100-mile trek by foot to establish what would become Windsor, Connecticut but not the complex dynamics of the mixture of Dutch traders and multiple tribal conflicts that he found there. We remember the role his congregation played in the Fundamental Orders of 1639, the first written constitution in the world that expressed the rights of the people to govern themselves, but not how the Podunk

people helped him and his fellow settlers survive the Great Winter of 1635, [cxxxiv] when the small Congregationalist community of 28 families almost perished. We remember he was a magistrate—but not that, as such, he served in the Connecticut Witch Trials and participated in sentencing women in his town to death for witchcraft. We remember – and still have a map of—the town where he and his son lived—but no one in my family ever told me that his son owned Cyrus, the first black slave in the state of Connecticut. Cyrus was valued at 20 pounds sterling and was still living when Henry died, as he is mentioned in his will.[cxxxv]

Shortly after I learned about Cyrus—less than forty minutes of pointed online research revealed an answer to the question that hours and hours of oral Wolcott family history never mentioned—I found myself wondering if Henry Wolcott, Jr, had come to "New Amsterdam" and bought Cyrus at the bottom of what is now known as Wall Street and what was then a slave trading auction.

To be clear: "discovering" these "forgotten memories" was painful. I was horrified to realize how much my ancestors had damaged others and perpetuated white supremacy. I was particularly sad to learn that the Podunk people as a distinct nation did not survive the disease-carrying European conquest of what is now Connecticut. I continue to wrestle with the ever-increasing awareness of how my ancestors perpetuated various forms of self-aggrandizement while each thought they were pursuing the Peaceable Kingdom/the Promised Land.

Significantly more upsetting, however, is that I grew up not understanding the web of relationships I have inherited. There are relationships with the Podunk people, the Lenape people, and many more indigenous peoples; relationships with slave owners and slaves; relationships with Dutch and French; with rivers and valleys and stories no one bothered retelling.

Sometimes, I felt betrayed by my family and my faith. Why all this false pride? We were not distant from the profit-hungry, bloody birth of this country.

In this journey, I have found an intriguing resonance with the remarkable memoir *Not From Here* by writer Allan Johnson, whose father's death leads him on a journey to attempt to find appropriate place to bury his father's ashes. His father's family had emigrated to the U.S. from Norway and his father had no strong preference for where his ashes would be buried, to the dismay of his son, who longed for a place that he is from—more than that, for a sacred landscape that might tell him who he is and "where (he) is meant to return" a place that is "holy, defining, land as self, to embody the Divine". In the midst of his agonizing journey linking personal and national history:

> I doubt there is for us a square yard of truly sacred ground on the entire continent, so whatever we (white people) are holding onto it isn't that. It is the story we keep telling ourselves to keep from having to admit how wrong it was, centuries of illusion and denial slipping away to reveal the arrogance, the greed, the pathetic need to think ourselves superior, what James Baldwin meant about feeling sorry for white people, having to depend on thinking they are better than everyone else.[cxxxvi]

I fully sympathize with Johnson's lament. Like him, my father's death played a pivotal role in my ability to bring together again – to (re)member this familial, religious and national history and wonder about the false stories we keep telling ourselves to keep from getting to the truth. Johnson continues to mourn his sense of displacement in time and space that coalesces into grief when he writes, "I have no People, as if I come from nowhere and no where is where I am. And yet this is where I was born, the only place I have ever known" (108).

While I appreciate his sense of displacement, mine has not been so acute. Indeed, along with the tremendous grief, my journey has also been one of deep connection both to people and

to place. My father's death, coupled with my deepening spiritual practice, led me to create a 7-day ceremony honoring the places that mattered to him in California; that ritual helped to re-integrate both loss and joy, place and person, into my life. While I do not yet have the depth of commitment to a particular home/place that I yearn for, I do have some sense of belonging "here." This journey of (re)membering continues to help me redefine what (and where) "here" is. Indeed, it was an unexpected historical "discovery" that has been so pivotal in enabling me to fully embrace my family's history.

4. ReMembering Democracy's Origin Story

In this section, I want to point to a piece of my family and our national history that invites us to re-member the origins of democracy differently – and in the same line of the rest of this thesis. It flies in the face of the common notion that Europeans "discovered" democracy, just as they did not "discover" Turtle Island in that kind of absolutist fashion that we associate with that word. I "found" this missing piece of family and national history because I attended a meeting of the Six Nations of the Iroquois hosted on Six Nations territory in Canada in September 2016 at the invitation of the American Indian Institute. While there, I learned from members of the Seneca and Onondaga nation the history of the wampum belts and Haudenosaunee forms of governance. This new knowledge, brought about from new relationships, led me to ask a new research question. I googled "Wolcott" and "wampum belt." The search results from our popular knowledge web felt like a gift from a truth-seeking force far greater than myself.

Oliver Wolcott, one of the twenty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence and the first Governor of Connecticut, might be the most famous Wolcott. His correspondence to John

Adams was amongst my grandfather's favorite set of historical documents. No one in the family ever questioned the greatness of him or the country he helped to found. I never heard my family so much as mention the perspective put forward by anti-colonial intellectual Arthur Young argument about the Revolutionary War: "the arguments against colonial rule, be they of Thomas Jefferson, Wolfe Tone or Simon Bolivar, was not against colonialism as such but against the rule of the settler colony by the metropolitan development."[cxxxvii] I have no evidence that Oliver Wolcott was anything other than a settler fully willing to call black men 3/5 of a human being and to enjoy the benefits of being part of an elite group of people who were growing wealthy and powerful from stolen land and forced labor.[41]

However, as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1775, Oliver Wolcott traveled to Albany for the meeting between the newly formed American government and the Iroquois (Six Nations) Confederation on August 25, 1775.[42] There, he engaged in an act of inter-cultural and inter-religious respect that no one ever told me but which I can now (re)member with dignity.

The Colonists had prepared for at least two months for this meeting under the tutelage of Reverend Samuel Kirkland, whose mission work amongst the Seneca frequently positioned him as a translator of language, culture and politics. Both the English Crown and the colonists had sought the Iroquois' neutrality in the growing struggle between them. The Iroquois assured both parties that they would remain neutral as they "bore an equal proportion of love to you and the others over the great waters in the present dispute, and we shall remain at peace and smoke

[41] I do not yet know if Oliver Wolcott owned slaves; the Wolcott family, as a whole, did over multiple generations.

[42] The meeting record between the Commissioners and the Oneida Chiefs, found in the American Archives' Documents of the Revolutionary Period, documents the conversation between the two sides although not who said what.

our pipes, and the Six Nations will always keep the path open." With "God as our witness," they said that their communication "proceeds from our hearts." The Iroquois saw a clear desire for peace and the possibility of all sides living in harmony together.[cxxxviii] This harmony can be translated via the Hebrew notion of *shalom.* This is not only politics. It is a deep meaning of governance: governance as a spiritual process.

How do the Commissioners, one of which was my ancestor, respond? First, the sacred pipe of peace was lit and passed around the circle. Based on my personal experience of sacred pipe circles, everyone, including my ancestor, would have smoked the pipe. The commissioners would, thus, have fully participated in one of the core religious-political rituals of the Iroquois and many other tribes stretching from the East to the Great Plains.

After the ritual, the commissioners spoke, referring to the "covenant chain," a symbolic three-piece silver chain symbolizing peace, friendship and respect:

> We, the Deputies appointed by and in the name of the Twelve United Colonies… embrace this opportunity to rekindle the ancient council fire, which formerly burnt as bright as the sun, in this place, and to heap on it so much fuel that it may never extinguishing, and also to renew the ancient covenant chain with you, which you know has always been kept bright and clean, without any stain or rust, and which, by this belt, we now strengthen, that forever hereafter you and we may have but one heart, one head, one eye, and one hand. (Passing of a belt).[cxxxix]

Having sat in circle with members of the Iroquois tribe, this exchange sounds strikingly authentic; it reads as if it is taking place between two groups of Native Peoples instead of between a colonial white group who saw themselves as superior in every way to the Native peoples and the representatives of a group of "barbarians." Indeed, it is hard to believe that these words were spoken by delegates of the same group of people who had, for the previous 150 years, described

to their European counterparts the Iroquois as "heathens" in need of Christian conversion, or at least conversion to an alternative form of holding property. Instead, the settlers speak with deep respect and honor. They speak of one-ness and peace in poetic and powerful language: "we may have but one heart, one head, one eye, and one hand."

We could, of course, dismiss this sense of equality as diplomatic political manipulation: the Delegates had prepared well. White people, after all, never intended to keep their promises. The U.S. continually breaks treaties with Native people.

However, in my limited experience of such circles, it is hard to leave them without having one's heart touched. Silences punctuate the conversation; smoke, thick with symbol and memory, fills and supposedly purifies the space. What if my ancestors' hearts *were* touched? What if they were, at least for that moment, authentic in their hope for one-ness between their peoples and care for their common lands?

What they say next further strengthens this possibility:

> Our business with you here, besides rekindling the ancient council fire…. is in the first place to inform you of the advice that was given about thirty years ago by your wide fore fathers in a great Council which they held at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, when Cannassateego spoke to us, the white people, in these very words: Brethren: We, the Six Nations, heartily recommend union and a good agreement between you, our brethren; never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for one another and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger. Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable… We are a powerful confederacy; and if you observe the same methods our wise forefathers have taken, you will, acquire fresh strength and power…whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another… our forefathers rejoiced to hear Cannassateego speak these words. They sunk into their hearts. The advice was good; it was kind. They said to one another, the Six Nations are a wise people; let us hearken to their counsel, and teach our children to follow it…. We thank the great God that we are all united; that we have a strong confederacy composed of twelve Provinces… these Provinces have lighted a great council fire at Philadelphia.[cxl]

Here, the Commissioners are not only taking the Haudenosaunee seriously, but they are thanking them for the advice that they had given the colonies: to bind together and form a confederacy similar to their "elder brothers". In this moment, terminology such as "rekindling the ancient council fire," "wise forefathers," and "rejoicing" were common. They spoke with an incredible lyricism, referencing words that "sunk into their hearts" and the notion of an indigenous people as being "wise" suggest that the settlers were moving outside of their European orientation and were instead engaging in an orientation that at least sounds and feels, across this great distance of history, somewhat indigenous.

The potential of unity between the colonists from different European nations seems, in this record, to have been prompted by the Iroquois; no European monarchy had, at that time, a governance model between differing peoples that respected individual and collective diversity as much as did the Iroquois Confederacy.[43]

In no way does this fit with the conventional way the American story is told. Indeed, this listening is a strange act from a people who, in their own letters to England, refer to the Indigenous peoples as "barbarian" and "uncivilized." It does not mesh with a people who sought to be the descendants of the Holy Roman Empire.[44] I often wonder, did my ancestors have some kind of split personality, calling indigenous wise friends to their face and foes to the letters read by the likes of John Locke?

[44] Although as Felix C argues, as Rome learned from the Greeks, Europe learned from America. Perhaps the greatest lesson of all were the lessons of freedom and independence, something that colonists continually remarked upon.

What if the indigenous were not only known by my ancestors as barbarians, but also as teachers? "Teachers" here is not the same as the overly romantic "noble savage." This is not about putting an entire group of people on a pedestal, and in the process denying them their humanity. No, this is suggesting that there were actual relationships, in which family members engaged across cultures with one another on critical political and philosophical questions. There was dialogue. There was relationship. None of which have been remembered in our national identity. In recognizing the sacred fire and smoking the sacred pipe, my ancestors and our country's forefathers fully participated in an inter-religious, cross-cultural dialogue. This is not a discussion of who had intellectual property rights to the idea of "democracy" or "confederacy" or some of other form of common governance. This is not a moment of fear and scarcity.

Instead, it is a moment that seems out of step and out of time with so many of our congressional records of that time. This is a rhetoric of abundance: an abundance of wisdom, of open communications and complex relationships. Indeed, the invaders/settlers gave their full attention (heart and mind) to this council meeting around the sacred fire in the same year that they were creating the Declaration of Independence and forming the Constitution. Can we really discuss the latter two while ignoring the Wampum Belts/Treaties? America has done so. But we dare not continue this act if we wish to have some hope of moving into right relationships for the Anthropocene Age.

As I begin to remember these stories, I see myself as inheriting not only the Declaration but also the sacred Treaties my ancestors signed. My ancestors were, to an extent, grafted into a tradition of quiet decision making and long discourses and a deep value of peace amongst based on a deep respect of creation. To recognize myself as a person of the Treaty as well as Declaration

constitutes a significant reframing of my identity including my relationship to my own family, my faith and my country. It may be part of why I grieve yet do not feel the aching groundlessness as does Johnson; for me to be from "here" is to engage with these people *and* places, in history *and* in current reality. This identity enables me to go between the past, the present and the future in a way I refer to as "remembering" "reenchanting" and "anticipating" This identity—and the relationships it necessitates—is critical in the current context where we must continually recognize that the invasion embodied in the Doctrine of Discovery has never stopped: the dangerous "black snake" oil pipelines are being built, the prisons are increasing in size as people are displaced from the communities shaped by generations of racist socio-economic policies; many indigenous nations are dying; 500,000 species are loosing their identity every year.

This is, thus, a call to recall the genesis, the origin, of democracy. Democracy was not known in Europe. Variations of it were known and practiced amongst the indigenous peoples. It was tested, not by the founding fathers of the United States, but of a group of people who, in their own language, they referred to as their own "elder brothers." Indigenous scholars have been pointing out this history for years in such books as *Exiled in the Land of the Free,* but these narratives have hardly made it into the mainstream imagination of the origins and thus the appropriate shape of democracy. I am hardly the first to point out these histories; I add my voice, and with it my ancestral lineage, in reclaiming this heritage.

Largely under-appreciated in our contemporary narratives is the extent to which democracy fundamentally tails on ecological thinking, because that is a part of the ethical underpinning of the Haudenosaunee peoples. You simply cannot make a treaty or enact a set of principles without acknowledging the Creator, and with the Creator, all of Creation. My ancestors

certainly listened to the Thanksgiving Address, likely spoken in Seneca, in which all creatures are thanked; it remains a common way of opening ceremonies amongst the Haudenosaunee people and others. I have heard this address, a key part of the oral tradition, spoken. What if we were to recognize that policies that do not adhere to this are unfaithful to the genesis of democracy on this continent? They have no place here. They are un-American.

Such a simple re-imagination flies against centuries of American laws. But it does not fly against the ethos of the creation of the country that my ancestors engaged in. And it is that truth which we must hold onto as we let ourselves engage with the deeper dimensions of democracy. In a history where harmonious, mutually appreciative relationships between these two groups were either erased, ignored, or blatantly disregarded, reclaiming these moments of peace and learning is critical. In a moment when "make America Great Again" has become a powerful enough slogan to put an overtly racist and misogynist man as President, we look at this foundational moment in our country's history and see a different definition of greatness. Greatness, here, was made possible through mutual respect, learning, and listening.

If the founding fathers learned forms of governance from the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) people in 1775, then it is well within the staple of American identity that we are a cross-cultural country that learns across and between settler and Indigenous cultures. Once again learning from indigenous people today, especially around socio-ecological governance structures, which might be able to help us live well together in the Anthropocene Age, would be *entirely* American. Indeed, to do so is not a "crazy" idea: it is the continuation of a long-standing, if forgotten, pattern of those who wish to live into the Kingdom of Heaven in the promised land. We cannot live into that promised land without the wisdom of the peoples who were the original caretakers of this

land. We cannot hope to find the new solutions we need now without a level of cooperation and deep cross-cultural, cross-spiritual listening that is, actually, built into the DNA of American freedom, independence, inspiration and inclusive solutions.

Freedom: through domination or mutual respect?

What I write above, is, of course, in direct contrast with another American lustful fantasy: the idolization of Empire. Stephen Newcomb powerfully argues that those scholars who endeavor to make sense of federal Indian law with reference to America's professed values of liberty, equality, freedom and justice and subsequently decry America's failure to live up to her values:

> fail to account for the fact that the background context of these values is the historical truth that the United States of America was founded as the "American empire" by breaking away from the British empire. "We have laid the foundation of a great empire," declared George Washington. And on another occasion, he stated, it is only in our united character, as an empire that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations.

America has, thus, a deep conflict over the expressions of values such as "freedom." Perhaps, coming out of the growing British Empire, where domination was associated with godliness, and even upon seeing living examples of another way of life, my ancestors were unable to trust that one can have freedom without subjugating others. Today, such phrases as, "until everyone is free no one is free," are so often repeated that they can often seem glib and lose their revolutionary potential. Washington was aiming to unify the country to strengthen independence and global respect. But he seemed unable or uninterested to conceptualize that his own freedom could never be fully realized so long as he subjugated others.

The American empire was only possible through the control if not complete subjugation of the people who were already here. From 1783 to the late 19th century, the American empire focused on extending its territorial control over Indian nations within the area that it claimed in the continent of North America. It was only cutting its teeth. It grabbed land from Mexico and moved into the Pacific and around the world. Today, the American Empire has nearly 800 overseas military bases in more than 70 countries and territories. The foundation of Indian Law, which enabled the legal subjugation of indigenous Americans and which, subsequently, became the base for this global Empire, was structured by one of the most significantly but largely unknown court cases in US history, to which we now turn.

V. A Final Act

I structured this thesis in "Acts," reminiscent of a play. There were many reasons for this, amongst them to remind us, as Shakespeare said, that "all the world is a stage, and we but players on it." Things did not have to turn out the way they did. History is never inevitable; to live amidst current events is to know that it is not, actually, certain what will happen. It never has been. The story that unfolded after the moment outlined above did not have to be this way: such is a horrific entry into the contingency of the human condition. But we need to stretch our imagination. We need to know that the past was not inevitable in order to have the strength to shift the future away from these old patterns.

Whatever debt is owed to the Haudenosaunee peoples for supporting the formation of the U.S. government was not paid by honoring the two nations' agreement of ongoing respect, peace and friendship. Instead, after Independence, the U.S. swiftly put the Doctrine of Discovery

into international law.[45] The U.S. government strategically planned to reduce the indigenous peoples beyond a threat. The Doctrine of Discovery coupled with methods of private property supported the authority of the new State's sovereignty and the cultural re-production of "relationships evil in design" that perpetuated multiple forms of white supremacy over people and land. Thomas Jefferson laced the Doctrine of Discovery into international law when he was U.S. Secretary of State in 1792, wherein the United States took over Britain's "rights" to the land that Britain had "discovered." This doctrine gave the overarching authority for "Manifest Destiny" and the Louisiana Purchase, which more than doubled the United States landmass in the eyes of the Europeans by the original occupants who generally did not know that their homes had been sold by people they had never encountered.[cxli]

Key in this process is the distinction between land access and caring for land and "dominion" over land. Indigenous peoples took care of and had access to land which gave them the "right" to its use by hunting and gathering. Rights to agriculture were often ignored. Dominion, in the minds of the settlers, belonged to them. Discovery, based on the principle of preemption, could only be done by a European; indigenous peoples could not "discover" land nor could they transfer dominion. Multiple tactics—from all-out genocide to the destruction of the buffalo[46]--collectively formed a considered and systematic process of elimination and a subsequent transformation of land in a process that would lead us into the Anthropocene Age.[cxlii]

[45] Robert Miller has done extensive research detailing the movement of the Doctrine of Discovery within European, American and international law from 1493 to 2005. See, for example, Robert Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

[46] It might not be possible to overemphasize the importance of the loss of the buffalo to the Indians, which was well known by the white man. American artist George Catlin grieved their loss, and tried to express this tragedy

This socio-ecological transformation did not go unprotested, as expressed by the warrior Roman Nose of the southern Cheyenne: "we will not have the wagons which make a noise (steam engines) in the hunting grounds of the buffalo. If the palefaces come farther into our land, there will be scalps of your brethren in the wigwams of the Cheyenne."[cxliii] Pale-faced scalps there were. But the steam engines kept coming and the buffalo were hunted to virtual extinction.

Westward expansion, including the Lewis and Clark expedition, and the major principles of Manifest Destiny (unique moral values; global mission to redeem the world through spreading the republican government; divinely ordained messianic dimension) all stemmed from the Doctrine of Discovery.[cxliv] Secretary of State James Buchanan foresaw Americas' "glorious mission...of extending the blessings of Christianity and of civil and religious liberty over the whole of the North American continent."[cxlv] In the minds of the U.S. government, indigenous people were "imagined to exist in a permanent position of subordination in relationship to the United States," enabling the U.S. to consume and to devour their land.[cxlvi] There was never a question that this was about shifting competing worldviews that rested on the relationship between humans and land, as expressed by Congressman Henry Dawes, who was pivotal in created the Dawes Act of 1887 which checker-boarded 90 million acres of "treaty" land to non-Native hands: "to be civilized was to wear civilized clothes….cultivate the ground, live in houses, ride in Studebaker wagons, send children to school, drink whiskey (and) own property)." (TG 35) Similarly, John H Oberly, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said that the Indian "must be

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to his readership: "It is a melancholy contemplation for one who has travelled. And seeing this noble animal in all its pride and glory, to contemplate...its species is soon to be extinguished and with it the peace and happiness of the tribes of Indians who are joint tenants with them." George Catlin in, Bill McKibben, *American Earth: Environmental Writing Since Thoreau* (Literary Classics of the United States, 2008), 43.

imbued with the exalted egotism of American Civilization so that he will say 'I, instead of we,' and 'this is mine' instead of 'this is ours.' (TG 34)

Unsurprisingly, the original caretakers of the land fiercely disapproved of the U.S. government's approach and of so-called "civilization." For example, Sitting Bull's assessment of the U.S. "civilization" is cutting:

> their…love of possession is a disease with them. These people have made many rules that the rich may break but the poor may not. They take tithes from the poor and weak to support the rich who rule. They claim this mother of ours, the earth, for their own and fence their neighbors away; they deface her with their buildings and their refuse. That nation is like a spring freshet that overruns its banks and destroys all who are in its path. We cannot dwell side by side. Only several years ago we made a treaty by which we were assured that the buffalo country should be left to us forever. Now they threaten to take that away from us. My brothers, shall we submit or shall we say to them: "first kill me before you take possession of my Fatherland?" [cxlvii]

Sitting Bull seems to accurately assess the culture that seeks to destroy him and the land he cares for. His willingness to be killed instead of being moved made little sense to a nation that was building its identity on its willingness to use land up and to move on: quite different from a spirituality, language, and other dynamics of identity that "depend" upon the land base that gave rise to them. The indigenous identity cannot easily be transplanted to another geographic area.[cxlviii]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the critical legal case that became the backbone of much of "Indian law" in the United states, the 1823 Supreme Court case *Johnson v M'Intosh,* involved a property "dispute." M'Intosh had bought land from the U.S. government who had in turn bought it from the Illinois, or Wabash Indians. He was in dispute with land claimed by the land company, Johnson & Graham Lesse, who had bought the land from Piankeshaw Indians. Recent scholarship

illuminates that this "dispute" was manufactured, as the two pieces of land were not within 50 miles of one another. It is a particular irony that no indigenous people were involved. Supreme Court Justice John Marshall ruled in M'Intosh's favor, because he bought the land from the U.S. whereas Johnson's title came from Indians, which was deemed invalid. Indians only had a right of occupancy; they could not sell their land. Through this ruling, the Doctrine of Discovery was upheld and codified: Indians lost their right of ownership (dominion and sovereignty) upon discovery by a European nation. As a result, Indian rights to hold titles, buy, and sell land was invalidated. They could neither enter the property system of the U.S. nor would their own system of land governance be upheld in US law; American Indians entered a kind of "no mans land". Meanwhile, the Doctrine of Discovery was even more firmly encoded into U.S. law. It was a day of victory for white supremacy.

Justice Marshall knew that this was not justice for the indigenous peoples: he wrote that the decision was based on "principles other than those of abstract justice." As Newcomb writes, "the injustice that the Court applied to Indians had to do with the way that the Court categorized nations: "civilized nations" (Europeans) and "non-civilized nations" (Indians)." [47] Marshall also repeatedly associated "civilization" with "Christianity." Marshall ruled that the Doctrine of Discovery "diminished" the Indigenous Nations' rights as sovereign nations; they subsequently became "domestic, dependent nations." Marshall did not grant Indians the normal decency granted to conquered peoples such as incorporating them into the victorious nation to become subjects of that nation because Indians were:

[47] Steven T. Newcomb, *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery* (Fulcrum Publishing, 2008), 45.

> fierce savages whose occupation was war, and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country was to leave their country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people was impossible because they were as brave and high spirited as they were fierce, and were ready to repel by arms every attempt on their independence.[48]

To gain Indian territory for their own, Marshall used arguments concerning Indian land management—how they did not improve the "wilderness" and the "impossibility" of governing them. Subsequently, Marshall was clear that the "rights" of discovery were required to be "maintained and established… by the sword" as the "right of the strongest."[cxlix] In other words: might makes right, especially when there is the opportunity for greater profit. Let us remember how we started this thesis: that this is not the core teaching of Jesus, who is not a God of war, for all that his name has been used for such purposes throughout history. Yet theologians and churches across protestant and Catholic denominations did nothing to protest or even recognize the moral ambiguity of the ruling.

Johnson v M'Intosh provided the legal standing to dismiss indigenous sovereignty. It was a clear moment of the cultural superiority and the endless "growth mentality" that I here associate with evil. Indians were forced off their lands; their reflections on this experience of being forcibly alienated from the land are poignant and painful. Black Elk, a holy man of the Sioux, tells of the "spiritual impoverishment suffered by his people when they were obliged to leave their old homeland":

> The Wasichus have put us in these square boxes, our power is gone and we are dying, for the power is not in us any more. … when we were living by the power of the circle in the way we should, boys were men at twelve or thirteen. But now it takes them very much longer to mature… We are prisoners of war while we are waiting here. But there is another world.[cl]

[48] Ibid., 98.

The image of being put into square boxes and losing their cultural and spiritual power reminds me of the experience of people in prison. Indeed, we might see the square reservations as amongst the beginning of America's prison industrial complex; a system for boxing away people of color who were inconvenient to the national ambition.

Is it possible to over-emphasize the destruction of people and place that accompanied the "growth" of America? As Jennings writes, "the colonialist moment was about transformation and relationships, yet both were marked by death." As this particular pattern of socio-ecological relationships stretched across the prairies, killed the buffalo and destroyed indigenous bio-culture, they replaced one landscape with another landscape, one mode of production by another mode of production, one people by another people, and one orientation by another orientation. The social logic and sensory input of language, landscape and place-based community that constitute identity was replaced with race and material consumption; both are poor substitutes for divine touch.

As the frontier disappeared and the indigenous way of life went with it, a new cry was heard: a cry amongst white elites for the "wilderness."[49] As William Cronon writes, not all land

[49] Noted historians such as Frederic Jackson Turner lamented the loss of the frontier and was a forerunner in calling for the National Parks. The frontier, he argued, had been indispensable for America as it was there that immigrants could "shed the trappings of civilization, rediscover their primitive racial energies, reinvent direct democratic institutions, reinfuse themselves with vigor, independence and a creativity that was the source of American democracy" (c.f. Cronon 1995: 10). Today, we might look at his list of qualities – "primitive racial energies" "direct democracy" uncivilized; "vigor, independence and creativity" and wonder if he ever realized that he was talking about the value of becoming Indian.

was created equal. A minority of spaces[50] were deemed worthy of being sanctified: separated and placed apart from the evils of "consumptive" tendencies of the American Empire, they became known as the National Park System. The notion of "wilderness" sans people was, of course, dependent upon the elimination or forced removal of the Indigenous peoples who already lived there. As Cronon writes, the unnatural category of wilderness "is a product of the very history (of the destruction of the Indian) that it seeks to deny."[cli] The creation of the "pristine wilderness" entailed the forced removal of the indigenous peoples who lived there. Only in the past few years have there been increased research and exposure to the deeply racist policies of the national park service.

Certainly, my family, including my grandparents who were proud early members of John Muir's Sierra Club. My parents, who both grew up going to Yosemite National Park, and myself have all come to the bounded "wilderness" to "loose the trappings of civilization" and become primitive again, through sitting around (camp) fires and maybe even meeting God without having to do any kind of care for the land except to pay an entrance fee to the National Park Service. In doing so, are we unconsciously participating in a duality that keeps us white folk alienated both from being able to *live* in, as well as to worship in, nature—as well as being separate from the indigenous peoples who once lived there?[51]

[50] About 3 percent of U.S. land is currently under the National Parks Service. If this land is considered the most "valuable" land, it has a striking resemblance to the most "valuable" people; 3 percent of the U.S. population owns over 60 percent of the wealth, although in recent years, that has become even more dramatic as the top 400 families (less than 1 percent) own more than the bottom 60 percent of the U.S. population. Joshua Holland, "20 People Now Own As Much Wealth as Half of All Americans | The Nation," *The Nation*, December 3, 2015, https://www.thenation.com/article/20-people-now-own-as-much-wealth-as-half-of-all-americans/.

[51] National Parks were segregated based on local custom during the Jim Crow years. They were largely "white" spaces for quite some time. Yosemite National Park today draws a diverse crowd.

That is no way to enter the Anthropocene Age, an epoch which requires of us the utmost in attention and sensitivity and care to uncertainty and the fragility of place and people alike. This is a time that requires the care of a lover to her beloved. It is the Eros—the desire and the creative power and the depth of love for one another—that can be found at the heart of the incarnate Christian faith—what Jennings refers to as the "erotic nature of Christian existence"—and in the dance and sensory prayers of so many traditions that we now need to break through 500 years of suffering and towards a process and maybe to become a kind of person that we have yet to be in this place.

Epilogue

I started this thesis with the tale of a gift that emerged from hearing and telling more truthful stories. I was given the gift of seeing my family's and my nation's origin stories from a perspective that was just as accurate but which also differed from my own. Over time, I came to understand my family's story in a significantly more holistic way. In doing so, I am far more grounded, and far better able to build relationships based on a kind of truth that can enable deeper harmony to emerge than were my ancestors. To perceive our own histories in a more holistic way is a healing process that can re-join our relationship to place, other people, and the Divine Beloved. In this process, the force of truth and love already and always within us can reshape us closer to right relationship, a kind of authentic alignment with the Holy Spirit for the Beloved Community. Such journeying is a kind of re-joining, filled with moments of deep intimacy with both people and place. It is a journey through which the fragments of an often violently dis-associated and dis-membered past may be brought closer together, gesturing towards the Beloved Community. Such journeying may seem emotionally hazardous and even precarious, for

we navigate through wide aching gaps of disassociation, awkwardness, acute discomfort, and angry edges; there are also moments of sweet intimacy, when one hand reaches across the chasm of temporal space caused centuries ago in an act of mistaken arrogance to grasp the hand of another.

To embark on this journey is to re-stitch, re-weave, re-form the connective tissue between those places, peoples and those parts of ourselves ignored, dis-membered, dis-associated, torn asunder, violently severed, burned, whipped and forcibly marched away from one another for centuries. This is far easier said than done. It is far easier done by those with clearer historical resources. Some of us have detailed records of our ancestral past; for others, there are no written records of marriages and births; of locations lived and landscaped loved. Much has been erased. Many creative imaginings are needed to go into and through the vast gaps in history, and to meet one another in and beyond the void. We seem at times to be left with little more than fragments. Yet remnants are also the stuff of poetry and song, of quilts and community gardens; of stews and rituals. We need not think that only because we have fragments, that we do we not have enough.

Re-membering is not to be saturated with guilt and shame. This is easier when the process of re-membering is done in the context of generous relationships. I increasingly learn to release those dimensions of an old familial and faith identity that was in alignment with the purposes of an invading colonial force that continues to destroy the environment; my family and faith identity become re-orientated around the anticipation of the possibility of a beloved community based on a foundation of historical truth and contemporary love. On my own journey, I have tasted enough of the miracles that arise from a willingness to truthfully engage with a listening heart

that the Beloved Community is not a fantasy: I am better able to anchor myself in this "alternative" reality. This is not about merely reinterpreting facts; it is about rediscovering the pathways of flourishing embedded in our historical memory and embodied within our collective selves. It is for us to carry, cherish and nurture the ancestral memories which always lie within us, the past-in-the-present, which are intimately entangled with our future desires.

Might this ReMembering be a way of following Jesus? Jesus invites us to undermine the power of our kinship network when it is rooted in the Empire's story, memory, and cultural practices and to instead follow His way of love and the possibility of mutuality with our fellow beings. Certainly Jennings argues that it is now possible to engage in a "mutual enfolding" of the "cultural logics and practices of others inside their own…. (taking us) beyond the agonistic vision of nations and toward the possibility of love and kinship… (mutual) desire is the basis of their ethical actions."[cliii] There is here a possibility of new forms of family and new forms of relationship to land that accompany the rearrangement of the fragments of our shared stories.

The invader's destructive web was insidious. It seems to infuse everything, from politics to health to family dynamics and the expectations of young people. The task before us is not easy, neither for the descendants of the invaders, such as me, nor of the descendants of the victims of colonization, or of both. For myself, aligning with the history of the sacred aesthetics of the wampum belt treaties is part of following the ancient practice of mutuality that goes beyond and underneath "agonistic visions of nation" and state sovereignty. It goes beyond either consumerist behaviors or whiteness as the "facilitating reality" through which all other races are determined which currently stands before our capacity to move well into the Anthropocene Age.

The possibility of a different kind of kinship, of a different kind of world, starts not with grand visions but with gratitude, especially to the non-human beings who have supported all of us, even when we hated one another. I am grateful to the Source who keeps offering me opportunities for relationships with people my ancestors were taught to hate. I am grateful that hatred, xenophobia, self-aggrandizement and greed do not need to be—are not! —the end of the story. Indeed, the force of truth—*satyagraha*—is too compelling for us to continue this process of dis-membering. Again, and again, I want to point people to that inner force of truth / soul: for it compels us and even guides forward when we cannot fully see the way ahead ourselves.

My indigenous colleagues were correct. We cannot hope to oust the extractive mentalities leading to climate change without engaging with the histories of dissociating people from place especially via colonization, which occurred both within and outside of Europe. With this gesture towards a new genealogical story, or what we might think of as an ecological human-earth family history, it is clearly inaccurate to tell our collective story of the Anthropocene Age from the Industrial Revolution/Enlightenment without incorporating the history of colonization, the European witch hunts, and the Doctrine of Discovery. We need no longer discuss the loss of traditional knowledge and the traumatic tearing of people from their sacred landscapes in Africa, the Americas, and elsewhere while ignoring Old Europe, as if Europe herself was not also impacted by the rise of the orientation of domination. With this history, eco-theologians can learn from the rich lineages of non-white anti-colonial activists, artists and mystics the world over, from Howard Thurman and Mordechai Johnson in the U.S. to Mahatma Gandhi in India to Leopold Senghor in Senegal. “Liberation theology” can come to incorporate new forms of

sovereignty. Eco-theology and eco-ethical practices come, with this history, to incorporate revitalizing indigenous languages, undoing place-based racism (i.e. gentrification), engaging the gift economy, growing medicinal gardens, and revitalizing old and creating new ceremonies/rituals that can revitalize sacred landscapes. We can enter a period of reenchantment. Perhaps we can even move into authentic discussions about ways of living sans property, and even re-claim our American heritage as People of the Treaty.

Change this story, the origin story of the Anthropocene Age, in such a way that is infused with the miracle of that human tendency to selflessly give to one another as well as the sin manifest in our human tendency to terrorize one another, and you enable a deeper sense of connectivity between racism, sexism, classism and ecological destruction. Now we can tell new stories. We can recognize the diseased societal imagination that has come to characterize dominant (white/Western) culture's creative engagements – from "progress" to entrepreneurship to church planting - and instead seek a creativity that emerges from a listening heart.[cliii] What might happen if foundations and investors are able to analyze their grantees and their investments with this kind of historical framework? If Families of high financial net worth are able to re-narrate their ecological family histories and in the process come into a new relationship with where their money came from and where it is going? How might Churches re-form the relationship between committees focused on "justice," "reconciliation" and "regeneration/sustainability" currently seen as separate discussions? What kind of coalitions across social justice, ecological justice, artistic initiatives, faith, and various forms of wealth are possible with greater dimensions of truth-telling and listening?

Moving into the new epoch of the Anthropocene Age offers us the opportunity to form better socio-ecological relationships. The stakes are high, and the prognosis is difficult to gauge. Humans might not make it through the next few centuries. In the aftermath of the win (by 25.4 percent of the voting population) of a climate change-denying candidate to highest office of the United States who inspires and sanctions blatant racism, as manifested in political lawn signs that said "Make America White Again," it is particularly critical that those of us who identify as white be able to speak from personal experience about the damage that colonization and whiteness has done to ourselves; the amazing possibility of wholeness that derives from fully acknowledging our historical role in the creation of white supremacy; and the deep satisfaction of cross-cultural relationships that can lead to a kind of co-creation my ancestors did not know was possible.

For those who choose to engage in the learning journeys of reMembering and reenchanting, be that on your own, with your community, or with the communities that I cultivate, it is hard to over-emphasize both the challenge of the journey and the creative spiritual energy that is unleashed at a deep level. It is like working with that which has been buried under the earth for hundreds of years. The cries of pain did not just disappear; the blood and the ashes from the fires sank into the ground and were heard by the trees and their seeds as both curses and blessings were held by water. Everywhere, I see ancient wisdom bubbling up again, forming new ecosystems around it, quenching the thirst of those for too long have been denied the doorway to their own souls' purpose aligned with the needs of our times. In community, with Spirit, fear dwindles. In its absence, sunlight can reach the springs where ancient and new wisdom bubbles up, strengthening the ecosystems yearning to grow.

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Appendix A: A Possible Anthropocene Age Timeline

1095: Papal Bull *Terra Nullius.* Permitted Christendom to "discover" and claim land occupied by "Saracens" (Muslims).
1224 - Pope Innocent IV develops *Terra Nullius*: legalizes stealing indigenous (Palestinian) land
1227 - Crusades Roger de Wolcott crusader; rough period when Wolcott coat of arms developed

1350- worst of black plague subsided in England but did not end)
1452 – 18 June – Nicholas V authorized Bull, *Dum Diversas*. Authorized Leopold V of Portugal to reduce any 'Saracens and Pagans and other unbelievers' to perpetual slavery. This facilitated the Portuguese slave trade from West Africa.
1453 - The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire; the "end" of the middle ages;
1455 - Bull *Romanus Pontifex* – Extended previous bull to Discovered lands during the Age of Discovery by Innocent V. Sanctified seizure of non-Christian lands Encouraged enslavement of native, non-European peoples, especially African slaves
1480- Spanish Inquisition declared by King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I to maintain Catholic orthodoxy; replaced medieval inquisition.
1484 - Papal Bull *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, or, the "Witch Bull"
1486 - *Malleus Maleficarum* published
1489 - England Henry VII - issues law against destroying 'townes' during early Enclosures
1492 - Inquisition orders Jews and Muslims to convert or leave Spain
1492 – Christopher Columbus encounters the Caribbean
1493 – Bull *Inter Cetera*. Established the Law of Nations (one Christian nation does not have rights over lands dominated by another Christian nation's dominion.) Age of Imperialism is set into motion.
1494 - Treaty of Tordesillas
1500 - First significant land enclosures in England - 61 villages were destroyed by 1500
1502- First Atlantic slave trade of the Spanish and Portuguese empires, linking Africa and the Americas
1517 – Martin Luther's 99 Theses and the Reformation
1519-21 – Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire
1521 - Camo Italy, 1000 witches were burned
1525 Peasant Wars in Germany in part because of land enclosures
1526 – Failed Spanish attempt to colonize South Carolina, near Jamestown. Included Africans brought over as slaves who revolted and joined nearby Indigenous village
1535 - Henry VIII dissolves Catholic Church in England
1543 – Copernicus publishes on the sun being the center of the solar system
1558 - Elizabeth I; separately, significant increase in witch hunts
1578 – Pollution problems lead Elizabeth I requests Londoners to stop using sea coal
1598 – Nuevo Mexico Founded (now New Mexico)
1602 United East India Company (VOC); also development of first stock market in Amsterdam
1607 Jamestown, VA - goal of getting more people
1619 - Rene Descartes
1621 - Dutch West India Company - slave trade
1627 - Francis Bacon's New Atlantis
1630 - Wolcott family comes to Massachusetts
1633 – Galileo proves Copernicus correct and is excommunicated by the Church
1635 - Wolcott family moves to Connecticut
1641 - Irish rebellion
1642-6: Civil War in England (Dissenters include Levelers and Diggers)
1644 - significant Witch hunts increase throughout France

1660- English Restoration
1665 - Great Plague outbreak in London kills 100,000 people and is the last major outbreak in the UK
1666 – Newton's law of gravity; Scientific Revolution
Simultaneous: regular correspondents between Europe and the Colonies, including what is now New England. Birth of 'religion' as a category for enquiry into non-European cultures.
1680s - Enlightenment and the end of the witch hunts (torture was inhumane) 1687 - Sir Newton's Principia Mathematica
1690- John Locke: *Two Treatises of Government*
1692 - Salem witch hunts
1690s – Heavy period of slave trade by the British – Conquest of modern-day Texas by the Spanish
1694- Bank of England
1776 – Declaration of Independence; Constitution makes room for intellectual property for ideas "discovered"; Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*
1792 – Thomas Jefferson weaves Doctrine of Discovery into i**nternational law**
1808 – US and Britain ban the slave trade. It continues elsewhere.
1823 – Doctrine of Discovery is codified into US law
1827 - Jim Crow Laws in south
1830s – Darwin sails on the Beagle and develops theory of evolution
1850 - CA joins United States
1854 - Walden's Pond published
1860-4: U.S. Civil War
1868 - Fort Laramie Treaty between Sioux Indian Tribe and U.S. Government
1890 – Wounded Knee massacre
1892 - Sierra Club Founded
1903 *The Soul of Black Folk* by WEB Du Bois
1903 - *Sand County Almanac*
1909 - Hind Swaraj by Gandhi
Thurman travels to India, the same place Columbus was originally searching for
1912 - New Mexico joins United States
1947 – India achieves Independence from Britain
1948 – Howard Thurman publishes *Jesus and the Dispossessed*
1949 - Aldo Leopold publishes *Sand County Almanac*
1958 – All African People's Conference
1966 - Ghana achieves independence
1967 – King delivers his 'Beyond Vietnam' speech at Riverside Church
1972 – Stockholm Conference: first human-environmental UN conference; publication, *Limits to Growth*
1992 – 500 years post-Columbus; Indigenous peoples demand - and are denied - a year of mourning. Re-initiation of movement to Rescind the Doctrine
2012 – UNFIP meet and discuss Doctrine
2013: 8,000 people (Abiya Yala Commission continental) gather in Columbia to organize and protest the Doctrine of Discovery

2014- Black Lives Protests erupt around the United States (*The New Jim Crow*)
2015 – Climate Agreement reached in Paris; indigenous peoples barely mentioned
2016 – February. Gathering in Chiapas, Mexico, around Papal visit and requesting that he rescind the Doctrine
2016 - Standing Rock "Water Protectors"

[clii] Willie James Jennings, *The Christian Imagination: Theology and the Origins of Race* (Yale University Press, 2010), 274.
[cliii] See, for example, the 2017 thesis of Storae Michelle Stanback-Hooper, *The Listening Heart*